PEACH, STEVEN J., Ph.D. "The Three Rivers have Talked": The Creek Indians and Community Politics in the Native South, 1753-1821. (2016)
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This dissertation is a political history of the Creek Indians spanning the years between the conclusion of the Creek-Cherokee War in 1753 and the Creek Redstick migration to Florida. That migration came to a conclusion in 1821, when the United States took possession of Florida from Spain. By examining British, Spanish, American, and Creek documents with the methodology of ethnohistory, it seeks to understand how community interests directly and indirectly shaped political leadership in Creek society. It argues that Creek towns (*italwa*), clans, and provinces inspired a contradictory pattern of politics among Creek peoples. On one hand, town headmen forged coalitions with other Creek towns to secure trade with Euro-Americans, pursue peace with Euro-Americans and other indigenous people, and protect Creek hunting grounds. At times, clans stabilized the cross-town coalitions, especially when town leaders forged kinship ties with one another or with a potential Euro-American or indigenous ally. On the other hand, clans undermined political agreements and policies when clansmen carried out the law of retaliation (*lex talionis*) against Euro-Americans and other indigenous people.

By uncovering the ways in which community fostered and impeded coalition-building in Creek society, this project revises debates in Creek ethnohistory, Native American history, and the history of the "Red"/Native Atlantic. Countless examples of coalition-building demonstrate that the Creeks were not politically decentralized, as some Creek ethnohistorians have argued, but nor did they create a centralized "nation" with coercive authority, as others in the same body of scholarship have contended. Secondly,

the rise, shift, and demise of coalitions pieced together by this dissertation suggest that Creeks conceptualized politics in terms of coalition units. As a result, Native Americanists should no longer use terms like *faction*, *pro-American*, or *pro-British* to explain Native political agency. Rather, Creek politics developed, operated, shifted, and fractured along lines of community interests, choices, and affiliations. Finally, this project asserts that the Creeks shaped the contours of empire in the Atlantic basin by giving them a decidedly political cast. European overseas empire-building in the Native South was tied to the logic of Creek politics.

"THE THREE RIVERS HAVE TALKED": THE CREEK INDIANS AND COMMUNITY POLITICS IN THE NATIVE SOUTH, 1753-1821

by

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To my wife, Aisha Capparelli, whose love and patience are unending.

To my parents, Alice and Steve, who helped me get this far.

To the Muscogee (Creek) Nation, where clans and talwas endure.

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation written by STEVEN J. PEACH has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of The Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Community Politics

This dissertation examines the Creek Indians in the colonial, revolutionary, and early national eras. This time frame marked a turning point in the history of the Native South, where Euro-American colonization steadily reduced the size of Native lands and the power of Native sovereignty. That reduction was not, however, a foregone conclusion, and a careful study of Indian politics offers new insight into the arc of colonization in this region. By tracing Creek politics between the conclusion of the Creek-Cherokee War in 1753 and of the Redstick exodus to Spanish Florida in 1821, it provides a new study of North American colonization from the perspective of an indigenous society and its political culture during an era of drastic change. To understand how Native people adapted to, resisted, and perceived colonization, it centers on extended family units known as clans (symbolized by totems like Bear and Deer); on towns (*italwa*), the fundamental political node of Creek society; and on socio-political "provinces," which grouped sets of neighboring towns into shared webs of kinship and alliance (Figure 1). My project investigates the contributions of clanspeople and townspeople to the creation of Creek policy, the practice of diplomacy, the signing of Indian-European treaties, the eruption of Indian-European and inter-tribal warfare, and the Creek Civil War of 1813-1814. While the nature of the evidence compels this project

to focus on political leaders so as to elucidate Native history, as ethnohistorians and historical anthropologists have done before me, I depart from these scholars by mining the archives for the ways in which clans and towns shaped, inspired, and thwarted headmen's political and diplomatic aims. It also pays unique attention to the political language harnessed and deployed by headmen in order to glean how community affiliations shaped their beliefs, actions, and goals

This dissertation argues that the Creeks actively responded to Euro-American colonization by generating a political strategy driven by community interests and allegiances, or what is referred to hereafter as the "community politics." I refer to clans, towns, and provinces collectively as "community," and employ those terms separately when a clan, town, or province is under discussion. The Creeks' community politics captured both the dizzying possibilities and frustrating limits of communities' influence in Creek politics, and it consisted of two parts. First, Creek headmen forged an array of cross-town coalitions that united clans, towns, and/or provinces around shared goals, such as the pusuit of Euro-American trade, the promotion of international peace, and the defense of hunting grounds. Many coalitions were interregional in scope, linking several towns across the provinces of Creek society, and some even incorporated Euro-American and other indigenous peoples, primarily by means of kinship. Secondly, precisely because coalitions bore the weight of numerous peoples, affiliations, and interests, they were shaky political enterprises. Towns' interests fluctuated according to perceived needs, and clans did not always cooperate with coalition leaders. Although headmen leveraged kinship customs to stabilize a coalition, in many cases kinship smashed

coalitions and uprooted societal order. Coalitions buckled when the warriors of a clan fulfilled the law of retaliation (*lex talionis*). When an outside group murdered a relative (or several relatives), this ritual custom obligated the male warriors of a clan to seek revenge and release the spirits of a slain relative to the afterlife. As a result, clans triggered small-scale conflict and full-fledged wars, which subsequently undermined coalition unity and policy. Although Creek clans were primarily institutions of kinship that organized individuals into family groupings, clans doubled as legal bodies charged with meting out punishment on offenders. As such, clan warriors and town headmen's commitment to their clans thwarted cross-town unity and unleashed chaos across the Native South. Community politics was double-edged, then. Town headmen fueled domestic unity by linking multiple towns in alliance and by occasionally leveraging kinship networks to ease coalition-building and form larger diplomatic alliances. Yet kinship-based clan networks triggered internal disunity and international conflict, especially when clans retaliated against an outside group, such as the British, Choctaws, or Chickasaws.[1]

Creek community politics centered on the political principle of consensus. Consensus encouraged town leaders to rule according to the majority opinion in any given clan, town, or province, though we know the most about consensual rule within

[1] On Creek politics, see Charles Hudson's *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), 202-222; Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 102-103; Joshua A. Piker, *Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 7-10; and George E. Lankford, *Looking for Lost Lore: Studies in Folklore, Ethnology, and Iconography* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2008), 73-96.

towns. Creeks lacked an electoral process, but it is certain that the town council (*mikalgi*) elected a chief town leader (*mico*) and headmen who served in other ranked capacities on behalf of the town. Only men who excelled in hunting, warfare, oratory, spiritual affairs, and other areas of leadership were considered fit to rule. Leadership based on merit meant that headmen served and continued to serve the town *only if* they voiced town interests. There were clear limts imposed by the town on a headman. Most archival evidence does not clarify whether the men and women in a town explicitly empowered headmen to pursue a course of action. But headmen's daily meetings in the town square ground (*tcoko-thlako*, "big house"), where they debated domestic and foreign affairs, presumably reflected the majority interests of a town, though divisions could easily surface. Women, too, shaped the recurring council meetings. Though barred from the proceedings, women influenced the daily gatherings by swaying their kinsmen to pursue a course of action and by cultivating public influence through participation in square ground ceremonialism. Whether Creek policy and diplomacy reflected a previously agreed-upon course of action in a town or whether the town left it up to the headmen's discretion to improvise in the moment is uncertain, although it was probably some combination of the two. This is bolstered by the fact that Southern Indian custom held that headmen generally should rule for as many people in their particular town as possible. But clans and especially women, who led clans, complicated town politics since custom required women, as necessary, to call upon their male family members to get revenge. Women, as leaders of clans, maintained the principle of retaliation as well

as their own authority in politics, thereby occasionally inhibiting intra-town unity and inter-town coalitions.[2]

The evidence examined in this dissertation suggests that when spearheading domestic and international policies, most Creek headmen believed that they were representing their clan, town, and/or provincial interests in the pursuit of common goals. The available evidence also indicates that the longer a particular leader served in a political and/or diplomatic capacity, the more able to maintain his power and popularity he was and, therefore, the more confident we can be that his people supported his decisions over time. In this way, headmen frequently attempted to pass and implement policies, sign treaties, pursue peace, and wage war because a majority in his town, clan, or province tasked him with doing so or, at least, he perceived as much. Community, then, was a major building block of Creek politics. When, for instance, the headmen of Cussita told a U.S. official in 1793 that "The three rivers have talked, and wished for

[2] Consensus, according to anthropologist Robbie Ethridge, was "a valued social trait" among Creek headmen who brokered agreements and crafted policy following vigorous and tiresome discussions, and despite the outcome, "everyone was under intense pressure to comply with [the] majority." According to ethnohistorian Joshua Piker, Creeks "resolved debates . . . via consensus and compromise, not with the warfare they sometimes used to settle disputes" with outsiders. All townsmen were required to participate in daily discussion, and although women may have been barred from the brush cabins, they could look on and indirectly sway the goings-on. At times, town headmen took a decision reached in their towns and brought it to the Council's attention, thereby laying the basis of cross-town coalitions, goals, and policies. All Cherokee men, too, participated in Cherokee town councils, where according to ethnohistorian Theda Perdue, the headmen proposed "a course of action and then waited for a consensus to emerge from prolonged discussion." For quotes, see Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 108 ("valued," "everyone"); Joshua A. Piker, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stories in Colonial America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 98 ("resolved"); Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 56 ("course"). For women's role in their clan, see Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (1993; repr., Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 23.

peace," they were saying that the towns along three major rivers of Creek society had earlier assembled in one town (i.e., Cussita) to develop a peace policy designed to appease the aggressively expanding United States. That headmen drawn from several towns agreed to such a policy suggests that they spoke for a general sentiment—a consensus—among all Creeks, who believed that they needed to do something to address the crises of U.S. expansion.[3] In numerous cases, moreover, headmen invoked their clan, town, and provinicial affiliations in cross-town assemblies, in diplomacy with other Indians, and at the European-Indian treaty table. By doing so, headmen publicly established their legitimacy as community leaders, represented a majority agenda, and signaled the partipation of communities in the political and diplomatic process. Leaders, coalitions, and communities therefore constituted a symbiotic whole. In many cases, Creeks strove to unite for common purposes and to do so for the benefit of a vast majority.

Unfortunately, headmen struggled to voice majority interests since doing so meant juggling their affiliations with and allegiances to their clan, town, and province as well as to a cross-town coalition and in some cases an international alliance with, say, the British or Choctaws. That was quite a difficult endeavor, skilled though many headmen were. Colonization exposed the inability of individual Creek leaders to balance local

[3] For "three rivers," see Bird Tail King ("BIRD KING") and Cussita Mico ("CUSSETAH KING") to Major Henry Gaither, 4/13/1793, Cussita, in *American State Papers. Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, from the First Session of the First to the Third Session of the Thirteenth Congress, Inclusive: Commencing March 3, 1789, and Ending March 3, 1815*, ed. Walter Lowrie and Matthew St. Clair Clarke (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1832), 1:420 (hereafter cited as ASPIA, volume number, page number), enclosed in Henry Gaither to Henry Knox, 4/19/1793, Fort Fidius, ASPIA, 1:419.

affiliations, especially their clan and town affiliations, with the needs and interests of coalitions, which encompassed multiple clans and towns. The problem was that the local clashed with the national, frustrating Creek unity. Since a headman's legitimacy depended in part on representing his clan and town in larger political groupings, he had to obey his people when they required him to do so. As leaders of coalitions, headmen faced enough problems trying to unite numerous towns behind a policy, but clans posed more serious—and violent—problems for headmen. When a Native or non-Native person murdered his relative (or relatives), a leader's clan affiliation and obligation to his grieving family took precedence. He helped mete out punishment or, at least, consented to such punishment to satisfy his clan's demands. As a result, he placed the clan's needs ahead of his town, his province, and/or the coalition he might be participating in. Consequently, retaliation ignited cycles of attack and counter-attack. In fact, during the Creek-Choctaw War (1766-1776) and Creek-Chickasaw War (1792-1797), some Creek headmen pursued diplomacy with the Choctaws and Chickasaws, but then later exacted vengeance on them. Although Creek headmen excelled in forging coalitions across towns and provinces, they often struggled to suppress their own clan identities and the obligation of retaliation that accompanied being a Bear or Deer.

Historiographical Discussion and Significance

A dissertation tracing the community shape of Creek politics draws from, and reinforces, a "local" turn in the Native South scholarship, whose practitioners are

ethnohistorians and historical anthropologists.[4] Both kinds of scholars study the Native past by examining ethnographic reports, oral traditions, and documentary evidence.[5] Although no Native South scholar ignores the impact of global/Atlantic history on Native history and the ways in which the Southern Indians participated in the global capitalist market system, scholars have begun to more explicitly probe the changes and continuities of community, place, and identity in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Native South. Recent analyses of Native Southerners begin at the ground level and work their way up categorically and historically: from the local world within which the Creeks lived and from which they became clanspeople and townspeople to the interregional and global linkages that they helped forge and that carried them into the modern world.

The local turn is indebted to earlier historians, such as Verner W. Crane, who engineered a more inclusive history of the colonial South than what had come before. Writing in 1929, Crane argued that the Southern "frontier" was a shifting "zone" of peoples and goods that resulted from the three-way competition among Spanish La Florida, English Carolina (f. 1670), and French Louisiana (f. 1699). The Southern Indians participated in the nexus of imperial conflict, he asserted, by trading Indian slaves and animal skins for coveted trade goods. Crane was the first modern scholar of the

[4] As opposed to the Native "Southeast," an older term that referred rather limitedly to the Southern Indians, "Native South" captures the expansive triracial components of Southern history, which envelops Indians as well as people of European and African descent. See James Taylor Carson, Robbie Ethridge, and Greg O'Brien, "Editors' Introduction: A Line in the Sand," in *Native South*, 1 (2008): ix-xvi, here xii-xiii. Collectively, I refer to the indigenous people of the South as "Southern Indians," "Native Southerners," and "indigenous Southerners."

[5] I consider myself to be an "ethnohistorian," although trained in the methods of history and the historiography of United States history. I have published, for example, in *Ethnohistory*, the journal of the international American Society for Ethnohistory; see Steven J. Peach, "Creek Indian Globetrotter: Tomochichi's Trans-Atlantic Quest for Traditional Power in the Colonial Southeast," *Ethnohistory* 60:4 (Fall 2013): 605-635.

colonial South to demonstrate that Indians possessed their own agendas and interests on the frontier. In that vein, he contended that the powerful Creek confederacy developed the "play-off system," a unique approach to balance-of-power politics by which the Creeks pitted the European powers against one another to secure better prices on trade goods, to keep the Europeans guessing, and, above all, to remain autonomous. Since 1929, the concept of the play-off system courses through recent books on the Creeks.[6]

[6] Crane briefly studied under Harvard University's Frederick Jackson Turner, a famous American historian of American frontier history. Crane was unsatisfied with Turner's 1893 "Frontier Thesis," which interpreted the American frontier as a sharp line of civilization that divided savage Indians from civilized Americans (usually white males). As Americans pushed west in the 1800s, Turner believed, Indians receded from view and diminished in historical importance. Crane also challenged anthropologist John R. Swanton, his contemporary. Whereas Swanton examined Creek history from the "ethnographic present," which assumes cultural continuity in an indigenous culture, Crane historicized Southern Indian actions and motives. Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732*, with an introduction by Steven C. Hahn (1929; repr., Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2004), xviii-xxiii, 71-107, 153-154, 185. "The Indian frontier in the South," he argued, "was a zone of intercolonial as well as international contacts and rivalries" (153-154). In a study of the Creeks from de Soto's *entrada* to the U.S. victory over Britain in the American Revolution, David H. Corkran developed Crane's notion of the play-off system; see Corkran, *The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967).

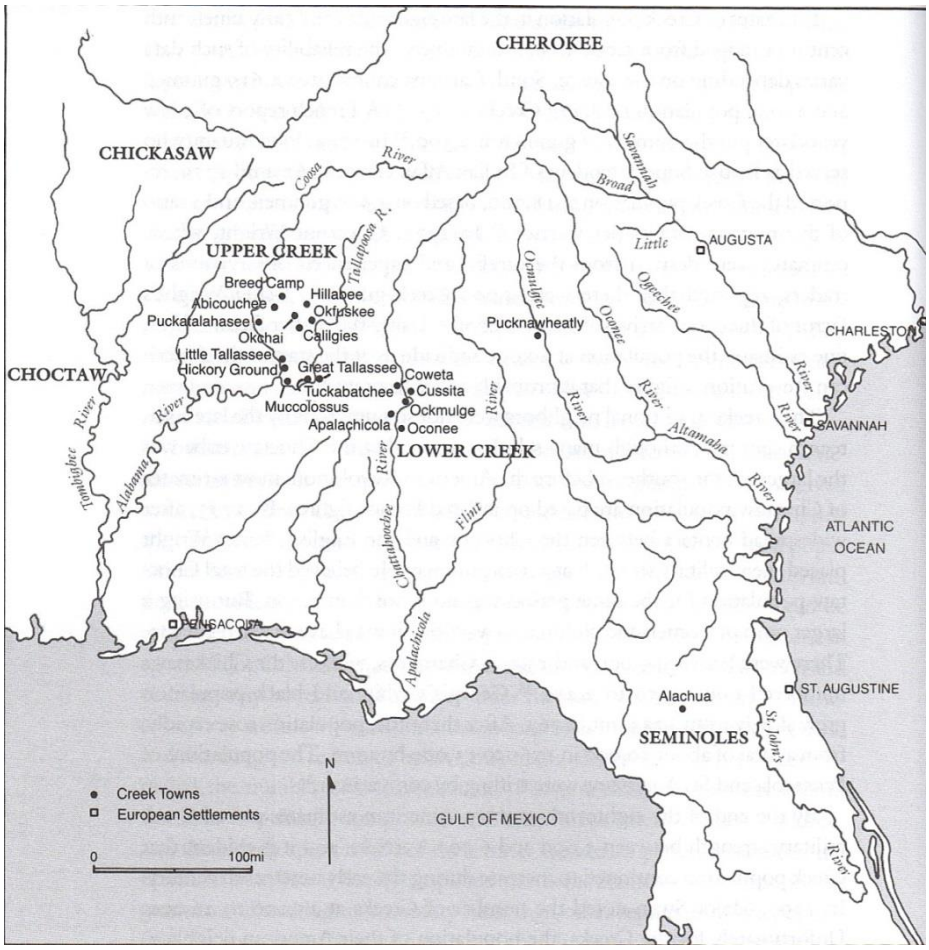

Figure 1. Eighteenth-Century Creek Society. For the Creek provinces, see Table 1. In the riverine world of the Native South, Creeks divided into the "Lower" and "Upper" Creeks. The Lower Creek provincial division inhabited the middle Chattahoochee River. The Tallapoosa, Abeika, Okfuskee, and Alabama towns, known collectively as the Upper Creeks, lived on the Tallapoosa, Coosa, and upper Alabama Rivers. Beginning in the early eighteenth century, many Lower Creeks migrated to the Florida peninsula and established Alachua and other towns in the north Florida plains. These breakaway Creeks later became known as the "Seminoles." *Source*: Map from Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (1993; repr., Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 10.

In the 1970s and 1980s, after the field of ethnohistory emerged, historical anthropologist Charles Hudson and ethnohistorian Michael D. Green pushed Southern Indian history and culture in new directions. Hudson's influential *Southeastern Indians* (1976) tackled extant but underused Creek and Cherokee sources to argue that the Southern Indian "belief system" promoted societal and cosmic "order." Anything pure was good, and anything polluted was bad. Purity fostered harmony, while pollution precipitated discord.[7] If Hudson searched for a unifying cultural paradigm for the Native South, in 1982 Green interrogated the divisiveness of Creek society, which struggled to unite against U.S. expansion in the 1810s and 1820s. Creek history "pointed . . . to local autonomy and the independence of towns," he wrote, arguing that decentralization and particularly the growing wedge between the Lower and Upper Creek towns weakened Creek autonomy and hastened Creeks' forced removal in 1836 and 1837 to Indian Territory (which became Oklahoma in 1907).[8]

The 1990s witnessed two economic approaches to the so-called decentralized Creek town world. In 1993, Kathryn E. Holland Braund argued that decentralized towns

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[7] Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, especially 120-183, 120 ("belief"), 121 ("order"). Mary C. Churchill, "The Oppositional Paradigm of Purity Versus Pollution in Charles Hudson's *The Southeastern Indians*," in "To Hear the Eagles Cry: Contemporary Themes in Native American Spirituality," ed. Lee Irwin, special issue, *American Indian Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (Fall 1996): 563-593, critiques Hudson's argument for its reliance on a Western-centric paradigm that privileged an oppositional schematic over indigenous thought and scholarly nuance. I agree with his retort, which is that the Indians' actions often reflected an almost obsessive concern with maintaining purity in a world undergoing cataclysmic change.

[8] Michael D. Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), especially 12 ("pointed"), 69-97, 141-173. Like Green, who also examined the relationship between U.S. Indian policy and Creek factionalism, Kevin Kokomoor considers the impact of Federalist Indian policy on U.S.-Creek relations in "Creeks, Federalists, and the Idea of Coexistence in the Early Republic," *Journal of Southern History* 81:4 (November 2015): 803-842.

participated in the deerskin trade by supplying European traders with finished and unfinished deerskins in exchange for a myriad of trade goods, including weapons, clothing, and brass and iron utensils. Like Green, she argued that "the loosely structured, ill-defined collection of independent towns" pushed against political cohesion. Decentralization spelled disaster in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Creek dependence on U.S. trade goods and Creek debts to U.S. trading "factories" caused American authorities to exploit societal divisions and secure land cession treaties.[9] In 1999, Claudio Saunt presented an innovative economic analysis of Creeks. He argued that Creeks' linkage to the global market created both political *and* economic divisions. A minority of *métis* (bicultural) Creeks, children of Euro-American fathers and Creek mothers, adopted the profit motive from their trader fathers. Intermarried white male traders were popularly known as "Indian countrymen." Ushering in a "new order" of society, *métis* headmen amassed wealth in the form of livestock and African American slaves. These changes prompted *métis* leaders to accept the concept of private property and "theft," having kept personal possession under lock and key.[10]

Scholars continue to examine Creek towns in the twenty-first century. Steven C. Hahn's *Invention of the Creek Nation* (2004) follows Crane by arguing that different

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[9] The Americans followed the British, who pioneered goods-for-land deals. Braund, *Deerskins*, especially 6-7, 121-138, 139 ("loosely"), 164-188.

[10] Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1 ("new"), 1-7, 90-110, 164-185, 175 ("theft"). I use "*métis*" to convey the bicultural ancestry of Indian people. Although *métis* is a problematic term, others like "mixed-blood" or "half-blood" are blatantly racist, and Euro-American settlers used the latter terms to denigrate people of mixed ancestry. For presumptions of race and culture that underlay language, see Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 249-250n1; Joel W. Martin, *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991), 79.

"factions" of Creek towns excelled in the play-off system. But he expands on Crane by arguing that the Creek "nation" was born in the three-way contest for empire. Moreover, whereas Green and Braund suggested that Creek factionalism naturally emerged in a decentralized society, Hahn asserts that Creeks framed a policy of "neutrality" that deliberately encouraged factionalism and the play-off system on which factions were based. Neutrality policy bolstered Creek autonomy, at least until 1763, when Britain's victory in the Seven Years' War ejected the Spanish and French from the South.[11] Debuting in the same year, Joshua A. Piker's *Okfuskee* (2004) traces the "town history" of Okfuskee from the early colonial period to the Revolutionary era. His central contention is that Creek history was town-based. When "we examine the logic and practice of Creek life," he argues, "the clan's importance diminishes, although it does not disappear, and towns [take] center stage" diplomatically. By focusing on Creek towns, he follows in the footsteps of Green and Braund who viewed Creek society as a decentralized town world, but he diverges from them by underscoring the agency of individual towns whose inhabitants probably did not see themselves as decentralized.

[11] Hahn, *Invention*, 110-119, 225-228, 231-244, 276-277; Green, *Politics*, 12; Braund, *Deerskins*, 22. According to Hahn, two "ideas" of Creek nationhood existed side-by-side and converged by midcentury. The first was the "aboriginal Creek nation," which enveloped "the Creek people and the kinship relationships that bound them together into clans and towns." The second idea of a Creek nation was influenced by European conceptions of borders and space; this was the "Creek Nation, . . . a legal entity empowered to cede or protect the land claimed by the nation as a whole." An outgrowth of "frontier diplomacy," the Creek Nation took shape "only intermittently, most obviously when Creeks and Europeans met to discuss land transactions" (262).

Rather, each town had its own worldview, motives, and traditions that shaped Anglo-Creek diplomacy.[12]

In 2003, anthropologist Robbie Ethridge presented an original economic and ecological analysis of Creeks at the turn of the nineteenth century. In *Creek Country*, Ethridge analyzes the impact of environmental change on seventy-three Creek towns, which she carefully maps. Some of these changes included the growing frequency of mixed-crop farming and the widespread adoption of animal husbandry. She develops Saunt's focus on Creek economic divisions but offers the important argument that most Creeks owned private property, particularly hogs, cattle, and horses, and not just the minority class of wealthy *métis* headmen. By participating in the global profit-motivated Southern economy or Saunt's "new order," Creek women especially showed, according to Ethridge, an unprecedented "commercial aggressiveness." Women transported their cattle to market and sold it in exchange for trade goods and African American slaves. Although it is unclear whether non-wealthy Creeks conceptualized property as a form of capital that spawned class divisions, Ethridge like Saunt raises the possibility that the "wealth generated *from*" property certainly fostered a line between rich and poor by the early 1800s.[13]

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[12] Piker, *Okfuskee*, 10 ("examine") and especially 15-74. Piker, "'Meet at My Town': Localism in the Native American Southeast from the Mississippian Era to Removal," (unpublished manuscript), pp. 1-56, traces the local history of much of the Native South from the Mississippian to Removal periods. He argues that towns were central components of diplomacy and politics in the Mississippian, colonial, and modern Native South. I thank Professor Piker for sharing his manuscript with me. Many of the arguments in "'Meet at My Town'" can be found in Piker, *Four Deaths*, especially 100-103, 136-141, 251-253.

[13] Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 158-174, 167 ("commercial"), 299n23, 300n29 ("wealth" [my emphasis]).

Angela Pulley Hudson and Michelle LeMaster interrogate other local concepts, such as space, gender, and kinship, providing a more nuanced understanding of Creek history. Hudson examines the impact of "territoriality" and geographical "access" in early-nineteenth-century Creek society. The Creeks' notion of a "white path" denoted the literal trade paths that led to and from Creek society and a symbolic path (a Spirits' Road) that maintained Creeks' linkages to the Master of Breath and the Spirit World. When Creeks spoke of a white path in diplomacy, she argues, they were promoting Creek culture and sovereignty. The controversial Treaty of Washington of 1805, however, undermined the white path. Pursuant to that treaty, between 1806 and 1811 U.S. engineers constructed the Federal Road, an intrusive horse path that cut through Creek country. The Road facilitated the passage of thousands of white and black people through Creek territory, constricted clan and town mobility, and subsequently triggered the Creek civil war known as the Redstick War of 1813-1814. For her part, Michelle LeMaster dissects European and Native gender norms in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century British-Indian relations. By crafting a framework of gendered power and culture, she contends that the "rhetorics" and realities of Native and European families shaped intermarriage. Native women, according to LeMaster, influenced cross-cultural diplomacy by casting male leaders' diplomatic messages in a more peaceful light.[14]

[14] Angela Pulley Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves and the Making of the American South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 1-9, 37-65, 67-89, 91-120; LeMaster, *Brothers*, 15-50. For the idea that women's presence in Native embassies signaled the peaceful intentions of those embassies, see Greg O'Brien, "The Conqueror Meets the Unconquered: Negotiating Cultural Boundaries on the Post-

Scholars of the Native South, then, examine Indians through the categories of community, particularly towns, place, and kinship. Beginning with Crane and accelerating under Hudson, Green, Braund, and Saunt, the newest generation of scholarship probes the cultural, gendered, political, and environmental changes in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Creek society. Whereas Piker examines the nuances of town life, Hahn's study of Creek nation-building demonstrates that towns came together especially at the treaty table to defend land and articulate a sense of Creek "'nationhood'" by 1750.[15] Ethridge tracks the environmental changes of Creek talwas by examining the ways in which the incorporation of mixed-crop farming and animal husbandry contributed to the growth of *talofas* (daughter towns) and the demographic dispersal of Creeks at the turn of the nineteenth century.[16] Furthermore, Angela Pulley Hudson identifies the origins of the Redstick War in a contest over local territorial access. The Federal Road threw up roadblocks on the Spirits' Road.[17]

Scholars since Charles Hudson agree that towns were the lifeblood of Creek politics, but they disagree on the extent to which towns collaborated to adapt to

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Revolutionary Southern Frontier," *Journal of Southern History* 67:1 (February 2001): 39-72, here 51, 55, and especially p. 59; and Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 1-15, 55, 283-287.

[15] Piker, *Okfuskee*, 15-74 (for the political and diplomatic history of Okfuskee) and 75-195 (for the economic, demographic, and gendered contours of Okfuskee town life); Hahn, *Invention*, 8 ("'nationhood'"), 186-228. According to Hahn, Coweta's Malatchi articulated a "legal" definition of Creek nationhood that was rooted in a clearly defined territory (189). Like Hahn, Tyler Boulware investigates the relationship between town and nation in Cherokee country. See Boulware, *Deconstructing the Cherokee Nation: Town, Region, and Nation among Eighteenth-Century Cherokees* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2011), 2-5, 10-31.

[16] Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 29 (for map of all Creek towns; Figure 2), 95-96, 158-174. For Ethridge's dazzling ecological maps, see pp. 59, 61, 65, 69-70, 72-73, 83, 86, 89, 171-172.

[17] Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 12-20, 67-89. Actually, both roads and rivers were points of cross-cultural tension (see 81-84, 104).

colonization. Green, followed by Braund, contends that Creek society was composed of decentralized towns that struggled to unite against an expanding America after 1783. American authorities exploited Creek disunity by wrestling several land cessions from the Creeks in the early nineteenth century. To some extent, Piker accepts the decentralization thesis by arguing that Creeks viewed their world with a town lens. While Saunt accepts the decentralization argument, he argues that by 1800 the adoption of a profit-oriented economy by *métis* headmen generated a centralized and coercive Creek nation. Drawing on untapped Spanish sources, Saunt argues that wealthy headmen hijacked the National Council, a national institution composed ideally of all Creek towns' interests, by passing laws that suppressed local town initiative and especially the clan law of retaliation. Hahn, however, examines the concept of a territorial Creek nationhood. He asserts that towns and clans formed the backbone of Creek history, but that they intermittently united to articulate a territorial "nation." By uniting as "miniature . . . confederacies," those communities at least partially defended Creek land from the British.[18]

[18] Green, *Politics*, 12, 21-23, 33-34; Braund, *Deerskins*, 139-141; Piker, *Okfuskee*, 7-10 and Piker, "'Meet at My Town,'" especially pp. 4-5, 20, 22, 26; Saunt, *New Order*, 180; Hahn, *Invention*, 110-119, 231-244, 241 ("miniature"). Duane Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change: Constitutional Governments among the Cherokee, the Choctaw, the Chickasaw, and the Creek* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 113-117, argues for a pre-1815 decentralized model as well. Joseph M. Hall, Jr., *Zamumo's Gifts: Indian-European Exchange in the Colonial Southeast* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 1-11, 12-32, 95-116, 168-171, follows in the footsteps of Hahn and Piker by tracing the history of the gift across Mississippian chiefdoms and early colonial towns. He contends that chiefdoms exchanged gifts that established bonds of kinship and cemented alliances. The ritual power of gifts gave way to alienable commodity trade between Europeans and Indians. As a result, the informal exchange of goods as opposed to the intimate exchange of gifts failed to stop intertribal conflict, which was fueled by the Indian slave trade and by Indians' relentless quest to acquire guns, metal utensils, clothing, and other prized goods.

My project, however, disputes the interpretive models of decentralization and of nation. Although the decentralization argument recognizes that the Creeks favored local forms of action over unity, it fails to account for the numerous cross-town coalitions, some of which engaged in confederation-building with other Native people, that my project identifies. On the other hand, themes of nation, nation-building, and centralization overstate the ideology and reality of a Creek "nation." The frequent eruption of inter-Indian warfare and Creek-European frontier conflict necessitated the law of retaliation, which tended to prevent a Creek nation from developing in this period. Defined as a coercive legal structure, nation possessed little meaning for most Creeks, who preferred clan law to a national legislative body.[19] Nor did a Creek nation defined as a clearly-marked territorial space emerge. Evidence suggests that most Creeks believed that land could not be surveyed and marked. Although a few headmen framed a legal and territorial understanding of nationhood as early as the 1740s and 1750s, it remains to be proven that the majority of Creeks viewed their world territorially.[20] In 1759, for

[19] Saunt, *New Order*, 90-110. For a recent dissertation that traces the attempt by several headmen to centralize the National Council, see Kevin Kokomoor, "'To be of one mind and one government:' The Creation of the Creek Nation in the Early Republic," unpublished project, which charts a shift from Creek "society" to a Creek "nation" (http://www.kevinkokomoor.com/#!research/c1pvz).

[20] For Malatchi's articulation of "legal" nationhood in the 1750s, see Hahn, *Invention*, 189. Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 48, argues that by the early nineteenth century, as Americans encircled and invaded Creek lands, some headmen like Mad Dog of Tuckabatchee thought of Creek society as a "bounded territory" that needed to be defended and protected. Revealingly, the contemporary Muscogee (Creek) Nation is defined by the town and not by the Western construct of a coercive "nation." Its bicameral legislature, known as the "Muskogee National Council House," is rendered in Muskogee as "*Este-Maskoke Tvlwv-Vlke Ennvkvftetv-Cuko*." This phrase underscores "*Tvlwv*" or town, a fundamental community unit both today and in the early nineteenth century. As well, the Muskogee term for "nation" is "*etvlwv*" or town, indicating that the Creek government today is as localized as it was during the period under study. See Jack B. Martin and Margaret McKane Mauldin, *A Dictionary of Creek/Muskogee* (Lincoln, NE:

instance, a British official asked the Creeks, "What River divides the Creek & Chactaw Country"? A Tallassee headman replied, "*There is no such thing as a Division* [i.e., boundary]" (my emphasis).[21]

Creek society neither coalesced as a nation nor remained wholly decentralized in the period under study; rather, Creeks preferred developing policy and conducting diplomacy as *coalitions*. A coalition temporarily unites people of varying interests and backgrounds to achieve a set of goals. From the colonial to early national periods, Creek headmen frequently transcended lines of kinship, town, and provincial affiliation to forge coalitions design to secure trade, defend hunting grounds and other lands, and promote ties with Euro-American and other Native peoples. While the most skilled town headmen erected coalitions, the ebb and flow of coalition-building rested on clans, towns, and provinces. In addition to towns and provinces, clans—frequently overlooked in the Creek scholarship—provided both the adhesive binding a coalition together and the lubricant causing it to shift and crumble. Put differently, all coalitions sprang from and served the participating communities, but they also buckled under the weight of clan, town, and regional interests. In a way, the National Council itself was a kind of cross-town and interregional coalition. In fact, the larger a coalition became, the shakier it was, simply because so many opinions, desires, hopes, and fears clashed and converged. The obligation of a coalition participant to avenge a loved one's death tended to undermine the coalition in which the aggrieved family was involved, especially if that coalition was

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University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 219 ("Muskogee National Council House"), 276 ("nation"). See, too, Piker, *Four Deaths*, 100-101.

[21] Long Lieutenant was the headman. See Document No. 1, 7/9/1759, Tuckabatchee Square, p. 12, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

currently pursuing peace with the same offending group that had killed the offended family's loved one. As well, the interests of specific towns within a specific province changed at a moment's notice, thereby inhibiting political unity.[22]

Still, for several decades, Creek coalition-building was a highly adaptable political response to colonization. It empowered Creeks to unite for common purposes, sometimes ephemerally and sometimes year after year (see Table 1). Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Creek political history evolved in the creative tension between coalitions and the individual clans, towns, and provinces that shaped each coalition. The Creek language suggests that Creek society resembled a patchwork of coalitions united by marriage.[23] Several scholars have likened the Creeks to a "confederacy" or a confederation of towns.[24] This terminology makes sense and accurately captures the

[22] My thinking on Native American politics is inspired by several scholars, including foremost Piker, *Okfuskee*, 6, and Piker "'Meet at My Town,'" especially p. 8 as well as by Hahn, *Invention*, 241-242; Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 19, 93, 277-279n1; Hall, *Zamumo's Gifts*, 8, 160-167; and Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 39-49. I thank Professors Ethridge and Hahn for reading earlier chapter drafts and helping me think through some of my ideas. For the "interior world" of a Native region, see Natale A. Zappia, *Traders and Raiders: The Indigenous World of the Colorado Basin, 1540-1859* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 5-18, 25-51, 5 (quote).

[23] Euro-American missionaries created some of the first Creek grammars during Indian Removal, when the Southern Indians faced enormous colonial pressures. See Martin and Mauldin, *Dictionary*, xvii-xviii.

[24] Green, *Politics*, 4; Braund, *Deerskins*, 4-7. Gregory A. Waselkov and John W. Cottier, "European Perceptions of Eastern Muskogean Ethnicity," in *Proceedings of the Tenth Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society, April 12-14, 1984*, ed. Philip Boucher (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985), 23-45, point out that European intrusion into the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century South caused "previously distinct, geographically dispersed peoples [to seek] mutual protection by concentrating their villages in a few selected river valleys." As a result, several "confederacies" or "unions of convenience" developed (23). Waselkov and Cottier also argue that by the eighteenth century and in response to British policy and settlement, "the Muskogees created a reasonably cohesive tribal ethnic group in which the component parts had considerable autonomy" (33). Hahn, *Invention*, 8, traces the origins and growth not of the

ways in which towns were yoked together by kinship politics. The Muskogee translation of "the Creek Confederacy" is *Isti Maskóki im Itihalátka*. Literally, it means "Muskogee person his/her wedding" or, more freely, "a Creek's wedding." Consequently, the political logistics of the Creek confederacy were glued together by numerous affective ties that locked families and towns into shared bonds of kinship.[25]

Yet, like marriage ties, coalitions and political agreements blossomed and unraveled according to familial interests and towns' shifting agendas. The root of "confederacy" (*iti*-) captures the political seesaw that yielded both linkage and division in Creek society. For instance, *itihoyanka thlákko* means "highway," a space that connects peoples and places. The verb *iticakhitá* means "to collide," however, and the adjective *itikálki* translates to "divided in pieces" (as a noun, *itikálki* is "political divisions").[26] Other Muskogee words with the root *iti*- signal agreement and disagreement.[27] Whereas *itim apalwicitá* means "to reach a consensus," *itimathlahkitá* suggests the opposite: "to disagree, have differing opinions."[28] In short, the Creek language glimpses the way in which Creeks conceptualized their politics.

"Confederacy" but of Creek "nationhood." Conceptually nationhood offers "more precise means by which to assess the historical and cultural dimensions of political change," Hahn writes (8).

[25] Martin and Mauldin, *Dictionary*, 34 (the Creek Confederacy), 36 (wedding). The respective verb of *itihalátka* is *itihalatipeycitá*, meaning "to marry (a couple)" (36). To ease reading proficiency, I include in the main text the phonetic spelling of Muskogee words, a standard scholarly practice. For instance, "wedding" is spelled *etehvlvtka*; phonetically, it is rendered "*itihalátka*" or "(i)ti-halát-ka" (Martin and Mauldin, *Dictionary*, 36). The "*v*" is Muskogee is pronounced "a" as in the English "*ago*" (Martin and Mauldin, *Dictionary*, xix).

[26] Martin and Mauldin, *Dictionary*, 36 (highway), 36 (to collide), 37 (divided in pieces/political divisions).

[27] For a list of Muskogee words whose root is "*iti*- (*ete*-)," see Martin and Mauldin, *Dictionary*, 36-39.

[28] Martin and Mauldin, *Dictionary*, 37 (to reach a consensus), 37 (to disagree/have differing opinions).

This project relies sparingly on language materials, however, developing instead the aforementioned ideas with archival evidence. Like other ethnohistorians of the Native South, I interrogate written documentation to track the history of a non-literate people. Records analyzed include British, American, and (translated) Spanish correspondence and ethnographic reports, private journals and letters, travel accounts, and transcriptions of Creek headmen's speeches. I rarely include oral traditions in the analysis, though not because they convey a supposedly inaccurate view of the past. When coupled with the archives, oral traditions can shed light on the broad continuities and changes that Native people experienced during colonization. But oral materials cannot track the nuances of Native political history or the precise ways in which Native communities shaped political change. Documentation is not, of course, without problems. Elite white men authored most of the documents under analysis and betray the perspectives of their race, status, and gender position. Still, a reasonably accurate ethnohistory of Creek politics may be crafted by analyzing multiple records against each other. A crucial source for the study of Native politics is the "talk." In oral cultures, the spoken word is sacred, it affirms and renews bonds, and it is the major form of communication. In the colonial period, Euro-Americans trained in Native languages translated and wrote down a headman's "talk" and then gave the message to an Indian "runner," who delivered it to another locality. To transmit a message from the town of Tuckabatchee to Pensacola, for instance, required "eight days [of] travel." The recipient was supposed to read the talk aloud to capture the cadences of the words. Because political leaders typically addressed a talk to a potential ally (or enemy), Native talks

reveal headmen's unique perspectives and help flesh out the community nuances of politics. While ethnohistorians before me rely on Native Talks as a primary source of documentation, my approach differs in that I examine the actual *words* that headmen use to describe political and diplomatic situations. Those words were charged with culturally-specific meaning and bring us one step closer to understanding how Creeks conceived and deployed politics during an era of colonial stress.[29]

This project revises the scholarship on Creek Indian history, Native American history, and the early modern Atlantic world by offering new approaches to and understandings of indigenous politics. By showing that Creek community politics contained the seeds of both unity and division in Creek history, it asserts that Creeks transcended the "decentralized" world of kinship and town affinities but respected the established customs of clans and towns, forestalling the emergence of a centralized and/or territorial "nation."[30] My research proposes a historiographical synthesis that treads a middle path in the Creek scholarship by examining how headmen forged coalitions that linked Creeks across clan, town, and provincial associations, but that never grew into a permanent coercive and territory-based nation. The major reason for this was

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[29] Enrique White to Baron de Carondelet, 9/1/1793, Pensacola, in *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794, Part III: Problems of Frontier Defense, 1792-1794*, ed. Lawrence Kinnaird (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1946), 4:201 ("eight"). Hereafter cited as SMV, volume number, page number(s). Native thought and speech were grounded in a non-Western epistemology that emphasized habits of metaphor, spirituality, and kinship. See Clara Sue Kidwell and Alan Velie, *Native American Studies* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 83-92, 94-95.

[30] For "nation," see Hahn, *Invention*, 110-120, 274-275. Hahn's caveat that clans and towns were intimate support structures of eighteenth-century nationhood meshes with Ethridge, who writes in *Creek Country*, 107-108, that the early-nineteenth century National Council's authority was hamstrung by local customs. For centralization, see Saunt, *New Order*, 67-135, 180; Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 37-65; and Kokomoor, "'To be of one mind.'" For "decentralization," see Green, *Politics*, 12, and Braund, *Deerskins*, 139-141, 159-163, 164.

that although Creeks banded together to promote peace with the South's inhabitants, communities and especially clans triggered societal instability and regional war. That violence, in turn, made it difficult for headmen to form a national configuration of politics and to suppress clan retribution.

The corollary is that scholars of Creek history have missed the point that the law of retaliation destabilized Creek and other indigenous societies because headmen could not always successfully balance the competing loyalities of family. Although in some cases headmen and his clan agreed to exercise restraint, in other cases clans obeyed the custom of retaliation, which smashed coalitions and revealed the staying power of women in politics. A complex set of geopolitical factors caused the Creek-Choctaw War (1766-1776) and Creek-Chickasaw War (1792-1797), which devastated the Upper Creek towns and complicated coalition-building in these years. But the law of retaliation also fueled those wars, because clans possessed the duty and right to exact vengeance, creating runaway cycles of violence. While Creek scholars have pointed out that retributive justice helped restore peace between a killer's clan and an offended one, less understood is the reality that clans via retaliation thwarted political coalitions, launched wars, prolonged those wars, and undermined international peace.[31]

[31] Both wars demonstrate that the eighteenth-century Native South was not only incredibly violent but that clan allegiances drastically shaped violence and warfare. The Creek-Choctaw War has received attention from Braund, *Deerskins*, 133-137 and from Choctaw scholar Greg O'Brien, "Protecting Trade through War: Choctaw Elites and British Occupation of the Floridas," in *Pre-Removal Choctaw History: Exploring New Paths*, ed. Greg O'Brien (1999; repr., Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008): 103-122; and O'Brien, *Choctaws*, Chapter 3 and 84-85. No scholar has traced this war in depth at the clan or town level. For a fine analysis of the Creek-Chickasaw War from the Chickasaw perspective, see James R. Atkinson, *Splendid Land, Splendid People: The Chickasaw Indians to Removal* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 139-179. For the nuts-and-bolts of retaliation, see Reid, *Law of Blood*,

By arguing that Creeks organized politically into coalitions, my research provides new conceptual contours in the debate over Native American factionalism. Native Americanists commonly assert that "pro-Spanish," "pro-French," "pro-British," or "pro-American" factions emerged in Native societies as a result of Euro-American colonization. As factions competed for power, so the argument runs, they fueled division and weakened their society's response to Euro-American expansion, especially the U.S. westward advance in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The factionalist thesis is, however, Euro-centric because it replaces Native goals and perspectives with those of Euro-American empires and nation-states. Fundamentally the Creeks were, say, pro-Cussita (a Creek town) or pro-Bear (a Creek clan). When Mortar declared to his British allies that he was "A King of the Ancient Bear family," he revealed his pro-Bear bias in intercultural dialogue.[32] Thus, colonization generated Creek divisions not by spawning trade factions but by merely exposing the tensions inherent in headmen's affiliations with

153-161; Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 172, 229-32; Braund, *Deerskins*, 154-56; Urban, "Social Organization," in *North American Indian Anthropology*, ed. DeMallie and Ortiz, 175-178; Piker, *Four Deaths*, 101-102, 114.

[32] For Mortar, see Pensacola Congress Minutes, 5/30/1765, in *GFT*, ed. Juricek, 272. For excellent ethnohistorical studies that nonetheless get mired in the factional perspective, see Richter, *Ordeal*, 105-161 (for "francophiles" and "anglophiles" in seventeenth-century Iroquoia); Braund, *Deerskins*, 171-172 (for Revolutionary era politics); Hahn, *Invention*, 83-119, 121-148 (for triple-nation diplomacy); and Piker, *Okfuskee*, 36-37 (for colonial Creeks). In "'Our Lands Are Our Life and Breath': Coweta, Cusseta, and the Struggle for Creek Territory and Sovereignty during the American Revolution," *Ethnohistory* 60:4 (Fall 2013): 581-603, Bryan Rindfleisch argues with nuance that Cussita's and Coweta's contrasting approaches to diplomacy embodied a shared attempt to preserve Creek land during the Revolution. Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 86, raises the point that scholars tend to view Creek factionalism in terms of "progressives versus conservatives," "young versus old," or *métis* (mixed-blood) versus fullblood Creeks. Predictably, "all these dichotomies wear thin under close inspection" (*Creek Paths*, 86). For Okfuskee's ties to Tame King of Tallassee, for instance, see Tame King and Handsome Fellow to American Commissioners, 6/18/1777, Ogeechee River, in *Revolution and Confederation*, ed. Colin G. Calloway, in vol. 18 of *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789*, ed. Alden T. Vaughan (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1994), 223-225 (hereafter, RC).

a clan, town, and province. Depending on the circumstances, clans and, less often, towns fueled division and warfare. My work, then, allows us to see the colonial process from the inside out. Finally, a factionalist intereptation overlooks the numerous examples whereby Creeks *united* against Euro-American encroachment.

A political study of indigenous communities reveals how indigenous people of the "Red Atlantic" adjusted to colonization through political means. A spin-off of the early modern Atlantic world scholarship, the Red Atlantic traces the role of Indians who shaped and reshaped networks of empire and trade by physically traversing the waters of the Atlantic Ocean. Indians across the Americas, like the polyglot of Europeans and Africans who disembarked in the New World, were continental, Atlantic, and global players.[33] Jace Weaver, Kate Flint, and I have recently made this point. Still, as my dissertation argues, Creek Indian coalition-building gave the Red Atlantic a political edge that has remained unexplored in the budding scholarship of Red Atlantic studies. Coalitions helped mitigate the colonization of the Atlantic basin by frustrating the westward movement of British and American settlers in the eighteenth and early

[33] Native Americanists have begun to track the continental networks of exchange and alliance that made Native America a shared, if remarkably diverse, unit. See, for example, a dazzling analysis of the "interior world" of the early Colorado River valley and its connections to continental, Atlantic, and global nodes of power and trade in Zappia, *Traders*, 5-18, 5 (quote), and especially 25-51. Juliana Barr is an advocate of continental over Atlantic histories of Native people; see Barr, "Beyond the 'Atlantic World': Early American History as Viewed from the West," *OAH Magazine of History* 25:1 (2011): 13-18. Neal Salisbury limned the idea of a continental world in "The Indians' Old World: Native Americans and the Coming of Europeans," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 53:3, Indians and Others in Early America (July 1996): 435-458.

nineteenth century. Creek Indians were Red "Atlanteans," to borrow a term from Daniel K. Richter, even if the majority never set foot in London or Madrid.[34]

Community in Context

The institution of community politics encompassed three tiers of community: clan, town, and province. Foremost, "matrilineal" clans established a framework of kinship for all Creek individuals. In a matrilineal form of kinship organization, Creeks reckoned descent through the mother, inheriting her clan identity at birth and for life. A girl or boy's relatives included one's mother, all of her maternal relatives, and one's own brothers and sisters. He was not related to his father and paternal relatives, who played little to no role in his upbringing. Rather, the authority figures in the child's life encompassed his mother, aunts, uncles, and maternal grandmother (mother's mother).

[34] The Atlantic world is a heuristic device that encapsulates the interface among the peoples, ecologies, cultures, and polities of the early modern Atlantic Rim, including the Indigenous Americas, Europe, and Africa. It was also a shared cultural unit that possessed its own history, and that was generated and sustained by the circulation of goods, migrants, slaves, foods, diseases, capital, cash crops, and ideas. For a history of indigenous power and politics explored through the lens of a Creek leader named Tomochichi, see Peach, "Creek Indian Globetrotter," 607-609, 617, 627-628. For cultural and spatial interpretations of Native people in the Atlantic basin, see Kate Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian, 1776-1930* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008); Robert Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places: Mapping the Southeastern Anglo-Indian Trade, 1732-1795* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2012); and Jace Weaver, *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000-1927* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2014). For "Atlanteans," see Daniel K. Richter, *Before the Revolution: America's Ancient Pasts* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 4. For work on indigenous political leadership in southern Central America, see Wolfgang Gabbert, "'God Save the King of the Mosquito Nation!': Indigenous Leaders on the Fringe of the Spanish Empire," *Ethnohistory* 63:1 (January 2016): 71-93.

Among Creeks, a woman shared a particularly close relationship with her brother, who helped raise and discipline her sons. Her sisters assisted in the rearing of her daughter.[35]

There were probably dozens of Creek clans in the colonial period, although the exact number is unknown.[36] Each one traced its origins to a mythic ancestor, which was symbolized by a totem. Some totems captured a life force, such as Wind, while many others derived from animals, such as Bear, Deer, and Tiger (or Panther). Not all members of a given clan lived together in one town, however. Rather, kinspeople were dispersed throughout society. Some Bears lived in one town, while other Bears lived in another town. In fact, members of a Creek clan lived in many Creek towns, of which there were roughly sixty in the period under study. For instance, a headman named Acorn Whistler shared clan ties with people in possibly six towns (including, of course, his own).[37] The dispersion of fellow kin across society meant that an individual town hosted several clans. For instance, Bears, Tigers, and other clanspeople could be found in just one town.[38]

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[35] Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 185-197, 323-324.

[36] In the colonial period, four clans (Wind, Tiger, Bear, and Eagle) appear most commonly in the records, but there were many others; see Braund, *Deerskins*, 11. For Deer clan, see Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida*, ed. Kathryn E. Holland Braund (1999; repr., Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2014 [1775]), 150 (figure 14, "N2").

[37] The six towns included Little Okfuskee (Acorn Whistler's town), Coweta, Cussita, Autossee, Okfuskee, and "perhaps" Hitchiti. For Acorn Whistler's clan connections, see Piker, *Four Deaths*, 102.

[38] Anthropologist John R. Swanton was the first scholar to comprehensively study the Creek clan system. He relied on documentary evidence and interviewed Creek headmen in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to glean the intricacies of clan affiliation and residence patterns. See Swanton, "Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy," in *Forty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1924-1925* (Washington: United States Government

Clans were subdivided into matrilineages or families. Each family included, according to one anthropologist, an "old ancestress," her husband, daughters, daughters' children, and any unmarried sons. All lived together in a household (*huti*) consisting of several domestic structures, usually somewhere between one and four houses, which the women owned (Figure 3). Household residence was "matrilocal," which meant that upon marriage, the husband moved from his mother's household into his wife's *huti*. Of course, the husband did not surrender his clan identity upon marriage; his clan "allegiance" lay with his own matrilineal relatives. He lived in his wife's *huti* until one of the spouses died or when the marriage soured, prompting a divorce. After a divorce, the ex-husband probably returned to living in his mother's *huti* until he remarried. The ex-wife was free to remarry, and she retained ownership of the house and control over any offspring, although divorce was atypical after the issue of a child.[39]

Matrilineal kinship prescribed rules and customs designed to foster social harmony and cosmic balance. A host of relatives instructed the children in the fulfillment of proper gender roles that followed a division of labor within each town. As the life-givers of society, women provided food to their families by farming during the spring and summer. Each town supported a communal field where the female members of each lineage planted, tended, and harvested the staples of Southeastern society, including corn,

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Printing Office, 1928), pp. 23-472, here 107-170. For recent analyses of clans and the role of clans in diplomacy, see Piker, *Four Deaths*, 102, 136-141.

[39] Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 190-191, 196-202, 213 (*huti* and "allegiance"), 190 ("old"). Clans were exogamous, meaning that marriage between two people within the same clan was forbidden; a suitable marriage partner was to be found in another clan. During the courtship phase, the man built his soon-to-be wife a house and killed an animal to prove his worth as a man and hunter (198).

beans, and squash. As European crops, such as wheat, became more prevalent throughout the eighteenth century, women cultivated these as well. Daughters learned the methods of agriculture by hoeing beside their mother and aunts. During the cold season, when men hunted and went to war, women collected nuts, roots, and berries to prepare for any possible food shortages, although women and possibly children did accompany men on the hunt. A girl's rite of passage into womanhood was marked by the menses.[40]

While women nourished life as farmers and gatherers, men extinguished it by killing deer and other animals during the hunt and by waging war on their enemies. A boy's uncle (*pawa*), who called him "sister's son," trained him in the skills of hunting and warfare. The pawa taught his nephew that a hunter always throws part of the slain animal's meat into the campfire as a ritual thanksgiving to the animal, who had sacrificed itself for human nourishment. After learning to hunt, the young boy was ready for war and joined a war party comprised of a small number of male maternal relatives. When he killed his first combatant in war, the boy took a war title and became a man. Successful warriors demonstrated prowess in battle, mastered spiritual power, and earned new war titles based on additional success in war. Three "grades" of adult ranked warriors existed: the warriors (*tastanagi*), the war captains (*imathlas*), and the head warriors or

[40] Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 120-121, 271, 317-319, 336. For a discussion of Cherokee women's powers and the role of blood and balance in Cherokee society in the colonial era, see Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 17-40.

war chiefs (*tastanagi thlako*), who led his town to war. The young unranked warriors were the *tasikyalgi*.[41]

To uphold order in the cosmos, gender roles were linked to concepts of purity and pollution. Like other Southern Indians, the Creeks believed that blood rendered women and men impure and therefore harmful to society. During menstruation, women isolated themselves from their town in small menstrual huts. Removed from normal society, they briefly lived with other menstruating women and ate from specially marked food utensils. A man could not touch a menstruating woman whose procreative abilities polluted his virility and dispossessed him of the strength to take life. Before departing for the hunt or for war, men too removed themselves from the town for several days and purified themselves by taking emetic herbs, such as the button snakeroot, and danced to cultivate spiritual power and ensure success in the chosen task. When the men returned, they endured a second brief interval of isolation and cleansed themselves by bathing in a river and taking additional herbs. A man or a woman's failure to practice these customs risked triggering disease or other ills among the town community.[42]

Aside from prescribing gender roles, clans managed crime and punishment. When a Creek killed another Creek, by accident or intentionally, the spirit of the slain man haunted his surviving kinspeople if his death was not properly avenged. Next, the

[41] Euro-Americans usually addressed leaders by their war titles. I will clarify which Indian headman is under question when that is the case. Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 187 ("sister's son"), 225 (war titles), 240-241, 325-327; Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 103 (I follow Ethridge for the orthography of war classes); Lankford, *Looking for Lost Lore*, 77; Greg O'Brien, *Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age, 1750-1830* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 27-49.

[42] Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 243-244, 320-321, 322-351; Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 17-40; and O'Brien, *Choctaws*, 37-40.

clan relations of the deceased and of the killer tried to work out an inter-clan agreement. The deceased's relations sought compensation from the manslayer's clan in the form of deerskins, trade goods, or other items. If emotion prevailed and they rejected the payment, as was often the case, the mourners demanded that a person in the manslayer's lineage be put to death. What happened next was critical. Because clans resisted killing one of their own, warriors in the aggrieved lineage carried out the execution, which anthropologists call "blood revenge." The killer's clan stood idly by as the warriors meted out the execution, which restored inter-clan harmony and released the spirit to the afterlife. Native Southerners scrupulously followed the principle of blood revenge. Unlike blood revenge, however, the law of retaliation (in Western parlance, *lex talionis*) applied to international disputes. When a Creek killed a member of another society, the offended clan was obligated to retaliate. If that happened, theoretically the matter was settled. But the reality was much messier. When the clan that committed the original killing refused to recognize the retaliation, its warriors responded with a counter-retaliation that usually ignited war. Some wars, such as the Creek-Cherokee War (1717-1753), Creek-Choctaw War (1766-1776), and Creek-Chickasaw War (1792-1797), began in such a way.[43]

[43] I also refer to the law of retaliation as "clan retribution," "retributive justice," "clan vengeance" or, simply, "retaliation." To murder someone implies intent, but since the Southern Indians disregarded intent in the killing of a person, the term "murder" is inappropriate. Intra-clan killings were quite rare, although there were always exceptions. The classic study of blood revenge and retaliation is John Phillip Reid, *A Law of Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee Nation* (1970; repr., DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2006), especially 73-112, 153-172. See, too, Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 172, 229-32; Braund, *Deerskins*, 154-56; Greg Urban, "The Social Organization of the Southeast," in *North American Indian Anthropology: Essays on Society and Culture*, ed. Raymond J. DeMallie and Alfonso Ortiz (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 172-193, here 175-178; Piker, *Four Deaths*, 101-102, 114;

Creek towns helped suppress kinship loyalties by uniting a town's various families around a common township identity. In the Creek language, *itálwa* (commonly Anglicized as "talwa") means tribal town or, simply, town. Like clans, towns were a distinct community. The Muskogee term for community is *im italhámki*, whose root, "*ital*-," invokes talwa. According to two experts on the Creek language, a talwa was (and is) "the most important unit of community and political organization."[44] Merit-based town leaders held a rank and title. Each town had a council (*mikalgi*), which elected the following headmen to office: a *mico* ("king"), who was the town chief; his advisors, including a *heniha*, or "second man" who served as his "interpreter" or speaker in council meetings; and other political officials, including the elderly Beloved Men (*isti atcacagi*) whose wisdom and experience steered discussion. The council belonged to the "white" political division (or moiety), while the warrior classes were "red." In Southern Indian color symbolism, white symbolized peace, with "white" officials handling matters of diplomacy. Red, the color of blood, referenced war. Headmen convened daily to discuss alliances, Euro-American trade policy, warfare, and other matters in the square ground (Figure 2). Four brush arbor cabins surrounded the square ground, and each was divided into three sections to accommodate the ranked headmen. The mico's cabin served the mico, the second man, and other close advisors. It faced east, a sacred cardinal direction that, like the white division, augured peace and success in diplomacy. The town warriors,

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Evan Nooe, "Common Justice: Vengeance and Retribution in Creek Country," *Ethnohistory* 62:2 (April 2015): 241-261. Southern Indians ritually also tortured male captives to appease slain spirits and capture sacred powers. Colonial traveler William Bartram reported as much; see *Bartram*, ed. Waselkov and Braund, 155.

[44] Martin and Mauldin, *Dictionary*, 41 (town), 25 (community).

Beloved Men, and young unranked boys sat in each remaining cabin. During winter, headmen met adjacent to the square ground in a conical structure known to Europeans as the "hot house."[45]

[45] Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 202-222; Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 102-103; Lankford, *Looking*, 77-79.

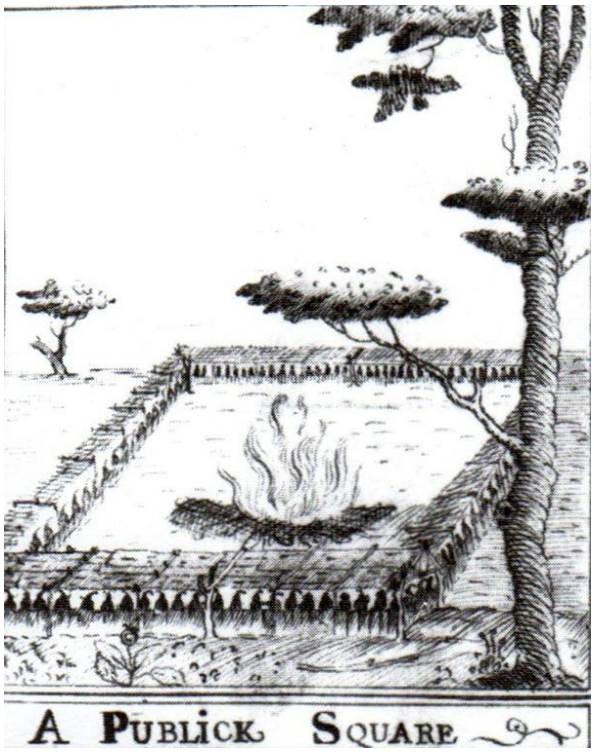

Figure 2. "A Publick Square." Authored by William Bonar, 1757. During the daily council meetings, headmen sat in one of four brush arbor cabins according to their rank. Each cabin opened towards the square ground and faced the sacred fire, which embodied the Master of Breath. The fire cosmically linked the townspeople in This World to the Above World. *Source*: Image from Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (1993; repr., Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), ii.

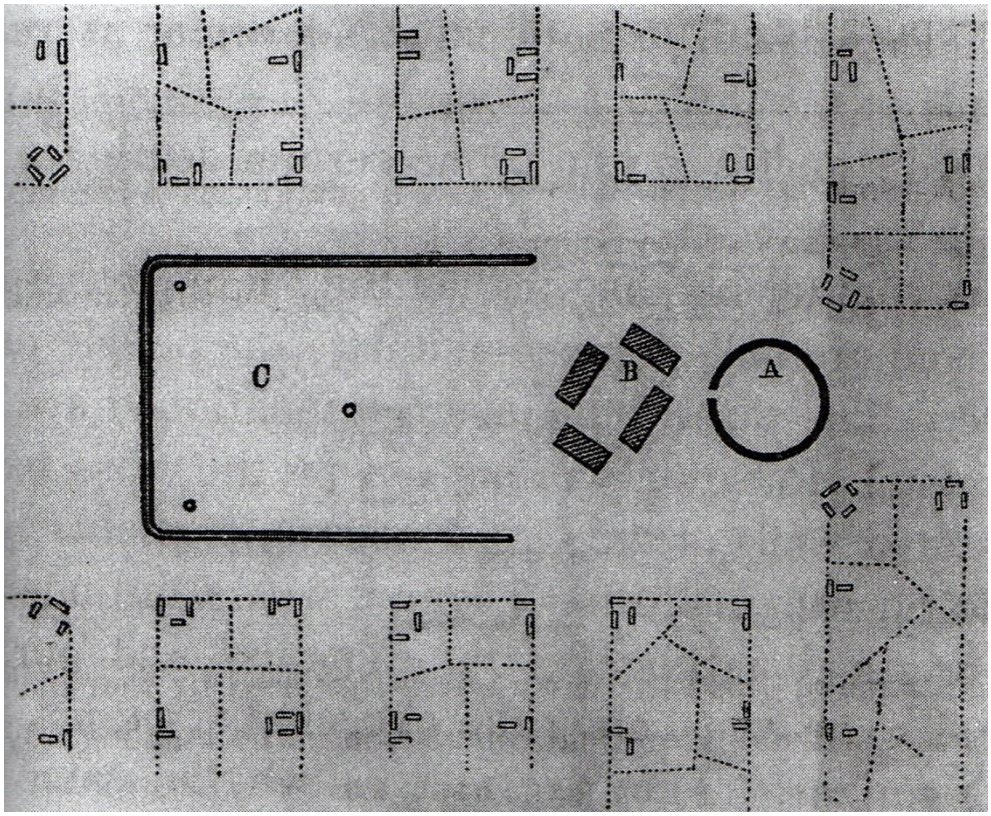

Figure 3. A Creek Town, 1770s. Naturalist and traveler William Bartram sketched this Creek town and "habitations." "A" designates the winter council house or "hot house," which served the same political functions as a square ground, represented at "B." The open plaza or "chunkey yard," where Creeks played this famous game in the early colonial period, is depicted by "C." The dwellings of each matrilineage consisted of one to four oblong houses that were arranged in the shape of a square, like the town square. Each house served a purpose, including cooking and winter lodging, summer lodging, a granary for storage of corn and other foodstuffs, and a warehouse for hunters to store "Deer Skins, Furs & Merchandize." But, as Bartram noted, not "every Family [has] four of these Houses - some [have] 3, - some 2, - and some but one, according to their circumstances, of largeness of their family, &c." *Source*: William Bartram, "Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians, 1789," in *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians*, ed. Gregory A. Waselkov and Kathryn E. Holland Braund (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 180, 183 (for image; Figure 33), 279n80.

The square ground was a porous and participatory communal space, and the seemingly rigid distinctions between the white and red political divisions overlapped. As folklorist George Lankford argues, the square ground and the mikalgi were considered white, but the warriors sat among the council and probably freely participated in discussion, indicating that "the red could penetrate the white—the two divisions were not mutually exclusive." Moreover, warriors implemented diplomacy. Although the council authorized diplomatic embassies, most were actually made up of warriors and usually head warriors.[46] White/peace also represented the gradual and natural result of red/war. The calm and wise mico was once a hot-headed and rash warrior, and it was only because he excelled in the craft of warfare as a younger man and safely led men into battle that he was able to earn his position as a trusted town leader and be elected to it.[47] Women, too, played roles in town affairs. They served as important leaders in town rituals, such as the annual Green Corn Ceremony during which the townspeople gave thanks to the Master of Breath, a spiritual force present in both the town fire and the Sun. Although women and children were probably barred from the daily council meetings, women shaped men's

[46] Lankford, *Looking*, 82-83, 82 ("the red"). That warriors served as diplomats complicated alliances and occasionally perpetuated warfare, a dynamic that is explored in Chapters II and IV of this dissertation. For an archival example of head warriors, such as Emistisiguo of Little Tallassee and Mortar of Okchai, serving as the authors of peace talks to the Choctaws, the Creeks' enemies, see "A Peace Talk The Creeks to the Chactaws," enclosed in John Stuart to Thomas Gage, 12/13/1770, Thomas Gage Papers (hereafter cited as TGP), William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, MI. O'Brien, *Choctaws*, 35, indicates that head warriors made some of the best diplomats among the Choctaws because of their mastery of spiritual powers, real-world experience, and connections to faraway lands and peoples.

[47] Lankford, *Looking*, 74-76.

thoughts and actions "behind-the-scenes."[48] As the *tcoko-thlako* or "big house," the square ground joined the town's families into a common union.[49]

The Big House united the townspeople around the sacred fire that burned year round in the center of the square ground. The fire's centered position mirrored the town's cosmic place at the center of the universe. It connected the town to the Master of Breath, vertically, and encompassed the nexus of town relations, horizontally. All people who belonged to a town were thought to be of "one fire," a concept that had political and diplomatic ramifications. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Creeks domesticated cattle and hogs, forcing town members to establish villages or daughter towns (*talofas*) away from the talwas, which lacked abundant land to support free-range animals.[50] Some talofas resided a few miles from the mother town, others dozens. But despite the talofa's physically distinct location, it remained as "one fire" with the talwa.[51] The concept of "one fire" was so expansive that it generated alliances between a town and an outside group. In the late 1790s, one headman reported to U.S. Agent Benjamin Hawkins that

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[48] Michelle LeMaster, *Brothers Born of One Mother: British-Native American Relations in the Colonial Southeast* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 15-50. LeMaster writes that women "may have contributed to behind-the-scenes decision making" that cast men's diplomatic messages in a more peaceful light and that "emphasized women's roles as mothers and always concerned matters of peace" (35). See, too, Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 264-269; John R. Swanton, *Creek Religion and Medicine* (1928; repr., Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 528, 597-598, 614. For women's role in mourning rites, see James Adair, *The History of the American Indians*, ed. Kathryn E. Holland Braund (1775; repr., Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 210-212.

[49] Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 221 ("big house").

[50] I use "talwa" and "town" interchangeably and will clarify references to a talofa.

[51] Cussita, a talwa, remained closely connected to its lone talofa, Upatoi, established sometime late in the eighteenth century. See U.S. Deputy Agent Timothy Barnard to U.S. Agent James Seagrove, 4/19/1793, Flint River, ASPIA, 1:386; and Barnard to Seagrove, 5/12/1793, "Kinnard's Cow-pen," ASPIA, 1:391. For a summary of the Creek talwa and talwa-talofa ties, see Piker, *Okfuskee*, 8-9, 127-130.

the Creek town of Cussita and the Chickasaws, an indigenous group that lived in north-central Mississippi, were of "one fire (*totekitcau humgoce*) from the earliest account of their origin."[52]

Communal ritual nurtured intra-town relations. Anytime between late July and early September, each talwa hosted the week-long Green Corn Ceremony, also known as the *poskitá* ("to fast") or, simply, Busk. A sacred harvest festival, Busk marked the "Creek New Year" by giving thanks to the Master of Breath for the ripening of the corn crop. During Busk, every townsperson was forbidden from eating the new corn until men and women fulfilled the proper rituals of purification. Men swept the square, discarded any refuse from the cabins, and danced, fasted, and slept in the square. At a certain point, women put on the Women's Dance to celebrate their connection with the Corn Mother. Busk culminated with the fire ceremony, which was conducted by the town fire maker or "high priest," a square ground official and ritual specialist trained in the mysteries of the cosmos. He purified the town's connections with their protector, the Master of Breath, by ritually extinguishing and rekindling the town fire. After relighting the fire, he presented fresh embers to the *huti* women, who relit the fire in their home, thereby sealing the bond between family and town, men and women, This World and the Above

[52] Benjamin Hawkins, "A sketch of the Creek Country in the years 1798 and 1799," in *Letters, Journals and Writings of Benjamin Hawkins*, ed. C. L. Grant (Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, 1980), 1:327 (hereafter cited as LBH). To be of one fire did not prevent war, however. Barnard wrote to Hawkins' predecessor, James Seagrove, 4/19/1793, Flint River, ASPIA, 1:387, that the "Chickasaws have . . . killed some of the Cussetahs, near the Mobile [Alabama River], and carried off some children."

World. Afterwards, the townspeople packed into the square ground to dance, sing, and eat the new corn.[53]

The third scale of community was the Creek province, a regional grouping of towns. Most Creek towns belonged to one of five provinces (Table 1). The first was the Apalachicola or "Lower" Creek province, some of whose towns nestled along the Chattahoochee River in the seventeenth century. The Tallapoosa, Abeika, Okfuskee, and Alabama provinces clustered along the Tallapoosa, Coosa, and upper Alabama Rivers in what is today central Alabama (Map 1). These four provinces made up the "Upper" Creeks, who lived west of the Lower Creek towns. To some extent, the Lower and Upper Creeks handled their affairs independently. In 1793, Governor of Spanish Louisiana and West Florida Baron de Carondelet noted that the Lower Creeks "although they are united with the Upper Creeks . . . are governed . . . with quasi independence of the latter."[54] At the same time, as this dissertation will reveal, political coalitions unified many of the Lower and Upper towns.

Every single Creek individual, then, possessed a clan, town, and provincial identity. For instance, an eighteenth-century Creek headman named Mortar belonged to the Bear clan, lived in Okchai, and affiliated with the Abeika province. We can say that

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[53] Swanton, *Creek Religion*, 546-614, 546 ("Creek"), summarizes all of the documented Busks from the colonial period and in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See, too, Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 365-375, 371 ("high"); and Joel W. Martin, "Rebalancing the World in the Contradictions of History: Creek/Muskogee," in *Native Religions and Cultures of North America: Anthropology of the Sacred*, ed. Lawrence E. Sullivan (London, UK: Continuum Publishing, 2000), 85-103, here 91-100.

[54] Carondelet to Captain General for Cuba, Don Luis de las Casas, 8/3/1793, New Orleans, in "Papers from the Spanish Archives Relating to Tennessee and the Old Southwest, 1783-1800," trans. and ed. D. C. Corbitt and Roberta Corbitt, in *East Tennessee Historical Society* no. 34 (1962): 97 (hereafter cited as ETHS).

he came from the "Abeika town of Okchai" or the "Upper Creek town of Okchai." He was simultaneously a Bear, an Okchai, and an Abeika.[55] Headmen occasionally invoked their provincial identities in diplomacy, as when a Creek war captain named the Okfuskee Captain, who lived in Okfuskee town, introduced a British official to Upper Creek country, declaring that "I am one of the Abehkas, & I speak for them."[56] The Okfuskee Captain was saying that he represented the Abeikas' interests and that several headmen from among the Abeika towns appointed him to that capacity.

[55] For Mortar's clan affiliation, see Pensacola Congress, 5/30/1765, *Georgia and Florida Treaties, 1763-1776*, ed. John T. Juricek, in vol. 12 of *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789*, ed. Alden T. Vaughan (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 2002), 272 (hereafter cited as GFT).

[56] Document No. 1, 7/7/1759, Cedar Creek, p. 4, in Edmund Atkin to William Henry Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, William Henry Lyttelton papers, William L. Clements Library, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI (hereafter cited as WHLP).

Table 1. Provincial Affiliation of Major Creek Towns and Talofas, Arranged in Alphabetical Order.

Major Creek talwas/talofas	**Lower Creek**	**Tallapoosa**	**Okfuskee***	**Abeika**	**Alabama**
Apalachicola, Broken Arrow (talofa), Chehaw, Coweta, Cussita, Lower Eufaula, Hitchiti Town, Oconee, Ouseechee, Padjeeligau (talofa), Sauwoogelo, Sauwoogelooche (talofa), Upatoi (talofa), Yuchi Town	X				
Autossee, Cooloome, Fusihatchee, Hoithlewaulee, Muccolossus, Little Tallassee, Sawanogi, Tallassee, Tuckabatchee, Upper Eufaula (?), White Ground		X			
Okfuskee talwa and Okfuskee talofas, including Corn House, Imookfau, Little Okfuskee, Nuyaka, and Sugatspoges			X		
Aubecooche, Coosa, Eufaulauhatchee, Hillaubee, Kialijee, Nauchee, Okchai, Pucantallahassee, Wewocau, Woccoccoie				X	
Coosada, Hickory Ground, Tuskegee					X

Source: Jerome Courtonne, List of Headmen, October 1758, box 8, WHLP; Benjamin Hawkins, "A sketch of the Creek Country in the years 1798 and 1799," in *Letters, Journals and Writings of Benjamin Hawkins*, ed. C. L. Grant (Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, 1980), 1:285-327. Creek orthography follows Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 29 (figure 2).

***** Although Okfuskee and its talofas had formed their own province by the early eighteenth century, I lump them with the Abeikas throughout this dissertation. For the Okfuskees as Abeika-affiliated towns, see Courtonne, List of Headmen, October 1758, box 8, WHLP; Joshua A. Piker, *Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 8.

All five provinces took shape in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when a culturally and ethno-linguistically diverse Creek confederacy emerged from the ashes of the Mississippian peoples. During the "Mississippian" period (ca. 900-1700), which takes its name after the towns along that river that supposedly birthed the Mississippian way of life, a series chiefdoms dominated the Native South. In each chiefdom, a civil and priestly class ruled from atop sacred mounds, where they mastered the powers of the cosmos and demonstrated their connection to the Above World. The commoners, who were removed from the cult of leadership, may have considered their leaders to be semi-divine. Chieftains exacted tribute in the form of food and labor from the town's population, yet many of them distributed that food during droughts and times of distress, thereby tying elite and commoner into a mutual relationship.[57]

In the sixteenth century, Mississippian rulers experienced stiff challenges from European intrusion. In 1539, the Spanish *conquistador* Hernán de Soto invaded the South with about six hundred men and hundreds of horses and livestock. In search of gold, Soto's *entrada* (armed reconnaissance) introduced "virgin soil" epidemics, including smallpox and other diseases, which may have precipitated the collapse of the chiefdoms. One historian argues that between 1696 and 1715, disease reduced the Lower Creek population by between sixty-eight and seventy-five percent.[58] Others factors

[57] Robbie Ethridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw: The European Invasion and the Transformation of the Mississippian World, 1540-1715* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 15.

[58] Ethridge, *Chicaza*, Chapter 3; Ethridge, "Introduction," in *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, eds. Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Schuck-Hall (Lincoln, NE, 2009), 10-12. For Lower Creek decline, see Paul Kelton, "Shattered and Infected: Epidemics and the Origins of the Yamasee War, 1696-1715," in *Mapping*, ed. Ethridge and Shuck-Hall, 312-332, here 321.

accounted for demographic decline, such as the intensification of the precontact practice of slave-raiding and -trading. After the founding of English Carolina in 1670, English traders competed with Spanish Florida for Indian slaves and animal skins. Slaves and peltry commanded a high price on the global market and became forms of currency with which Native people could purchase new trade goods. As a result, rival Indian towns raided each other for slaves with alarming regularity as well as hunted animals. Spanish and English traders exchanged guns, blankets, iron implements, and other coveted goods with those Indians who supplied slaves and skins in return. English traders shipped many of the slaves to the English West Indies, where they labored on sugar plantations, and to New England, where they worked as household slaves. By 1700, the complex of trading and raiding had destabilized the Mississippian chiefdoms.[59]

Chiefdom collapse fueled the growth of "coalescent" societies, giving rise to consensual and community-based power and authority. Reeling from violence and dislocation, peoples of diverse backgrounds, ethnicities, and languages banded together in small settlements for safety and mutual support. The process of coalescence produced the modern Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. Part and parcel to the development of coalescent refugee towns and villages was that after 1650, according to anthropologist Robbie Ethridge, a "shift in interpretations" of cultural practice too place, undermining

[59] Ethridge, "Introduction," in *Mapping*, ed. Ethridge and Shuck-Hall, 12. In *Chicaza*, 4, 68-69, 194-231, Ethridge identifies four broad changes introduced by European colonialism: internal and external pressures on the chiefdoms; disease; the incorporation of polities into global capitalist networks via the Indian slave trade; and the permeation of violence stemming from the slave trade. For Indian slavery in New France, see Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

the power and authority of Mississippian elites. Leaders' engagement with "supernatural realms" receded as commoners stressed the powers of This World or the "human realm." The exclusivist mound yielded to the "inclusive" town community. Headmen's power rested to a greater degree on human reciprocity rather than on spiritual power. Evidence for this comes from the growing appearance on commoners' utensils of the "looped square," a motif typically etched on the wares of Mississippian elites. Commoners drew on this and other symbols of the Mississippian Art and Ceremonial Complex (MACC) for their own purposes. According to new research, the reinterpretation of religion and culture was likely caused by a "revitalization movement." In this movement, seventeenth-century ceramics suggest that an ethos of consensus emerged. Whole towns harnessed the rituals and iconography once associated exclusively with elite authority. Non-specialists may have taught themselves the mysteries of the cosmos by offering their own interpretations of Mississippian myths and motifs. In the wake of revitalization, coupled with societal instability, headmen consulted the advice of a larger segment of their towns. Consensus was born.[60]

Tremendous change shaped the formation of the Creek provinces. The Abeikas migrated to the upper Coosa River valley throughout the seventeenth century and were probably remnants of a sixteenth-century polity known as the Coosa chiefdom, which

[60] Ethridge, *Chicaza*, 82-84 (for paragraph quotes); Martin, "Rebalancing," in *Native Religions*, ed. Sullivan, 91-95. For the revitalization thesis, see Gregory A. Waselkov and Ashley A. Dumas, "Archaeological Clues to a Seventeenth-Century Pan-Southeastern Revitalization Movement," paper presented at the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Mobile, Alabama, 2009. For a brief overview of the MACC, see F. Kent Reilly III, "People of Earth, People of Sky: Visualizing the Sacred in Native American Art of the Mississippian Period," in *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand: American Indian Art of the Ancient Midwest and South*, ed. Richard F. Townsend and Robert V. Sharp (Chicago, IL: Art Institute of Chicago, 2004), 125-137.

was located in northwestern Georgia. The migrant Abeikas may have settled among the indigenous inhabitants of the Coosa, forged ties with them, and moved downstream in successive waves. After perhaps one final migration downstream around 1700, the Coosa-Abeika population came to include the major Creek towns of Coosa and Aubecooche. Other Abeika towns, such as Okchai, planted roots along the upper Tallapoosa River, while still others settled along smaller creeks between the Coosa and Tallapoosa watersheds.[61]

The archaeology of the Okfuskee province in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is slim. Whether the Okfuskees were "descendants of the Mississippian polities on the upper Tallapoosa River or were immigrants into this area in later years" is, according to Ethridge, a mystery. By 1705, however, the Okfuskees comprised "a relatively substantial population and province" on the upper reaches of that river.[62] Because the Okfuskee province lived among and appeared to be closely affiliated with the Abeika towns along the upper Tallapoosa River, I will hereafter refer to the town of Okfuskee (from which the Okfuskee province gets its name) and its talofas as "Abeika."[63] In the late colonial period, Mortar of Okchai and Handsome Fellow of Okfuskee, for instance, coordinated diplomacy.[64]

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[61] For Abeika coalescence, see Gregory A. Waselkov and Marvin T. Smith "Upper Creek Archaeology," in *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, ed. Bonnie G. McEwan (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000): 242-264, here 244, 246-247; Ethridge, *Chicaza*, 113-114.

[62] For work on the Okfuskees, see Waselkov and Smith "Upper Creek," in *Indians*, ed. McEwan, 255-256; Ethridge, *Chicaza*,166 ("descendants"), 166-167 ("a relatively").

[63] For evidence of Okfuskee's affiliating with the Abeikas, see British trader Jerome Courtonne, List of Headmen, October 1758, box 8, WHLP; and Piker, *Okfuskee*, 8.

[64] See, for instance, "A Peace Talk The Creeks to the Chactaws," enclosed in John Stuart to Gage, 12/13/1770, TGP.

Most Tallapoosa towns derived from local populations along the river bearing their name, although some Abeika "refugees" settled among them in the colonial period. Major coalescent Tallapoosa towns featured in the coalitions examined in this dissertation include Tuckabatchee, Tallassee, Autossee, Cooloome, Hoithlewaulee, and Muccolossus.[65] The Alabama peoples founded towns at the confluence of the upper Alabama, lower Coosa, and lower Tallapoosa Rivers in the late 1600s and early 1700s. The Alabamas were actually composed of two migrant communities who spoke closely related dialects of the Western Muskogean language division. The Alabamas proper spoke Alabama, while the Koasati Alabamas spoke Koasati.[66] The Alabamas proper arrived from eastern Mississippi followed by the Koasatis, who moved to Upper Creek country from the eastern Tennessee River valley in the late 1600s. The Koasati-speaking town of Coosada (a corruption of Koasati) was an influential Alabama town.[67]

The Lower Creek province coalesced around a group of immigrant towns. Except for the Hitchiti-speaking towns, such as Apalachicola and Hitchiti Town, which may have been indigenous to the Chattahoochee River valley, most Lower Creek towns seem to have migrated to the area by the 1660s and 1670s. By 1662, for example, Cussita had

[65] For evidence identifying these as Tallapoosa towns, see Courtonne, List of Headmen, October 1758, box 8, WHLP. For Tallapoosa coalescence, see Waselkov and Smith "Upper Creek," in *Indians*, ed. McEwan, 250 ("refugees"), 252-253.

[66] Unless specified otherwise, the Alabamas proper and Koasatis are referred to as "the Alabamas" or "the Alabama towns."

[67] Waselkov and Smith "Upper Creek," in *Indians*, ed. McEwan, 248-249. Mary R. Haas, "The Classification of the Muskogean Languages," in *Language, Culture, and Personality: Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir*, ed. Leslie Spier, A. Irving Hallowell, and Stanley S. Newman (1941; repr., Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1960): 41-56, here 46, suggested that "On the phonemic level [Alabama and Koasati] are identical but on the lexical level they maintain quite a few differences. In many cases of lexical dissimilarities we find that Alabama agrees with Choctaw [a Western Muskogean language] whereas Koasati agrees with Creek and sometimes with Hitchiti [Eastern Muskogean languages]."

been settled there. Between 1662 and 1674, Coweta formed perhaps from a "later" post-Cussita migration. The ancestors of the two towns, however, probably moved into the Chattahoochee from the Tallapoosa watershed as early as the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The Lower Creek province also encompassed the Yuchis (at Yuchi Town), who spoke a non-Muskogean language. The Yuchis likely relocated from the Tennessee River delta.[68]

Apart from the Alabama language, which belongs to the Western Muskogean division, most Creeks spoke a derivative of Eastern Muskogean.[69] Muskogee proper, also known as "Muskogee" or "Creek," was the most widely spoken language among the Creek Indians in the period under study. Among Creeks, it became known as the "mother tongue." The widespread use of Creek among most Creek towns created a sense of linguistic unity in a coalescent world.[70] Another factor unifying the towns was the name "Creek," a political term that imperial officials invented to distinguish the Creeks from other indigenous peoples, such as the Cherokees to the northeast or Choctaws to the west. Between 1691 and 1715, when the Lower Creek towns temporary lived along the Okmulgee and Oconee Rivers, British traders began calling the Creeks the "Uchise Creek

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[68] For Lower Creek coalescence, see John E. Worth, "The Lower Creeks: Origins and Early History," in *Indians*, ed. McEwan, 265-298, here 266-291; Ethridge, *Chicaza*, 73-74 (Apalachicola), 113-114 (Yuchis). The Hitchiti-speaking town of Apalachicola anchored the province, and its leaders forged ties with the Spanish to the south (*Chicaza*, 81-82). Hahn, *Invention*, 28-29 (origins of Coweta and Cussita), 29-46 (Coweta's early political history).

[69] The Muskogean languages are divided into Western and Eastern Muskogean. Chickasaws and Choctaws spoke the Western division, whereas the Eastern division includes Alabama, Koasati, Hitchiti, Mikasuki, Muskogee proper (or Creek), and Seminole. See Haas, "Classification," in *Language*, ed. Spier, Hallowell, and Newman, 41, 43.

[70] Hahn, *Invention*, 242 ("mother"), 243. Hahn notes that by the mid eighteenth century, Creeks forged a "Muskogee identity" based in part on the growing use of Creek across the Creek provinces.

Indians." Uchise was the indigenous term for the Okmulgee River. After 1715, the Lower Creeks returned to the Chattahoochee, where they lived until Indian Removal in the 1830s. Incrementally, after 1715, the British shortened the original moniker to the "Creek Indians," and appended "Lower" or "Upper" to that term. Gradually, the Creeks adopted the term "Creek," especially when it came time to defend "Creek" hunting grounds and other lands from Euro-American encroachers.[71]

To preserve land and the sovereignty on which land rested, Creeks formed the National Council perhaps as early as the seventeenth century and certainly by the early eighteenth century. By the 1780s and 1790s, when U.S. colonization exerted tremendous pressure on the Creeks to cede land, it met at least once a year, usually in the late spring. At that time, dozens of town headmen convened in Tuckabatchee, Coweta, or another influential town. During the meetings, town headmen filled the Council's various positions of leadership, including Speaker (*yatika*). National leaders possessed the delicate task of balancing one's own clan, town, and provincial interests with those of the remaining Creek clans, towns, and provinces. The Council featured discussions about land cessions, trade debts, and cross-cultural property theft, and occasionally created policies to address those issues. During a given meeting, any and all Creeks could come forward to lodge complaints and air grievances regarding some issue.[72]

[71] Hahn, *Invention*, 6, 49-52, 91. The Spanish referred to the Lower Creeks as the Uchises and the Upper Creeks as the Tuckabatchees or Tallapoosas (*Invention*, 91).

[72] For a concise analysis of the Council, see Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 105-107. Green, *Politics*, 12, suggests that Europeans in the seventeenth century took vague notice of this institution.

Organization of Argument

This dissertation is organized into three parts. Chapter II examines coalition-building during the French and Indian War (1754-1763). I argue that the Creeks addressed the crises of British encroachment by forging several coalitions whose leaders, both men and women, largely obeyed the majority interests of clans, towns, and provinces. Coalitions took shape from towns and bonds of kinship that shaped the actions and rhetoric of the leadership, which was not "pro-British" but pro-Creek town or pro-Creek clan. In Chapter III, however, the crosshairs are focused on the Creek-Choctaw War (1766-1776). This war exposed the ways in which community politics simultaneously fueled stability and ratched up violence within and without Creek society. In particular, clans and towns facilitated peace and ritual innovation, yet some towns promoted the continuation of warfare and several clans prolonged the war by requiring warrior-diplomats to seek revenge on Choctaws. Aside from uncovering the violent edge of community membership, Chapter III is significant because it explains why the Creeks refrained from participating in the militant Western Indian Confederacy, an intertribal confederation of Native peoples in the Ohio valley who resisted British expansion after 1763.

Chapter IV identifies the formation in 1777 of the Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee town coalition and the Cussita-Tallassee town coalition. Although the coalitions encompassed numerous towns, coalition leadership revolved around headmen from each of those four towns. This chapter dispels the idea that Creek society remained decentralized or grew into a coercive/territorial nation by the late eighteenth century. The

Creeks were politically organized but did not embark on nation-building. Chapter V moves into the 1790s, when Creeks fought a two-front war with the Americans and a new indigenous enemy, the Chickasaws. To rein in the chaos, a coalition of Lower and Upper Creek towns framed the Three Rivers Resolution, a peace-keeping initiative that promoted peace with the U.S. and Chickasaws. The gnawing persistence of clan retaliation, however, engaged the Upper Creeks and Chickasaws in endless cycles of violence and disrupted peaceful relations until hostilities ceased in 1797. The Resolution codified community politics by uniting Creek towns around a national policy but also by respecting the wishes of individual community aims, especially the law of retaliation.

Chapter VI asserts that a contradiction emerged among turn-of-the-century Creeks. On one hand, the advent of profit-oriented headmen created a wedge between rich and poor Creeks, many of whom starved during periods of famine when wealthy headmen failed to equally distribute among their townspeople the annuity monies established by U.S.-Creek treaties. Although rich leaders were few and far between, they did introduce starvation and poverty among some Creeks. On the other hand, most headmen respected and promoted the political traditions of their clans, towns, and provinces. In fact, in 1803, Creek headmen spearheaded the Hickory Ground Resolution with fellow Southern Indians. In this intertribal pact, the Indians pledged solidarity against the rapidly expanding U.S. The Resolution indicates that contrary to several scholars, the Creek National Council did not become centralized by the early nineteenth century. Instead, it changed its political colors, chameleon-like, to accommodate the ever shifting needs and interests of Creek peoples.

By the second decade of the nineteenth century, the rich tradition of inter-town coalition-building that inspired the Hickory Ground Resolution and other forms of political action dating back to the Creek-Cherokee War became a liability when Creek society erupted into civil war in 1813. During the Redstick War of 1813-1814, a sub-conflict of the War of 1812, Creek prophets launched a revitalization movement. An anthropological term, "revitalization" refers to a spiritual movement that seeks to overturn the dire conditions of an oppressed people. Although Creeks were not oppressed or wholly powerless against U.S. expansion, the Creek prophets indicted U.S. Agent Benjamin Hawkins, who meddled in Creek affairs, and the supposedly "accommodationist" National Council which tacitly supported Hawkins. The prophets railed against wealthy Council headmen, such as Big Warrior of Tuckabatchee, who were responsible for the economic divisions that had emerged among Creeks since 1800. Chapter VII argues that Creek revitalization and the subsequent civil war restructured the old coalition system but did not suppress communities' and especially towns' participation in political affairs. Town interests so endured that they exacerbated chaos and division; the Redstick and National Council leadership each mobilized its supporters by forging two competing cross-town coalitions. Like clans during wartime, towns disrupted politics, with each coalition driving a deeper and deeper wedge between the Redsticks and non-aligned Creeks. When the Redstick War came to a close in early 1814, the Redsticks fled to the Spanish Floridas, where they founded settlements away from their Creek and American enemies. In 1821, when the U.S. inherited Florida from Spain, Creek society lay permanently divided.

CHAPTER II

TOWN-BASED COALITIONS

Scholars argue that in the period between the founding of English Carolina in 1670 to the conclusion of the Seven Years' War in 1763, the Creeks organized their loose-knit confederacy of towns into trade factions. Within those years, a Creek town or group of towns traded with the English; or the French, who settled in Louisiana in 1699; or the Spanish, who established the first permanent Spanish outpost in North America at St. Augustine in 1565. Some Creek towns or even individual headmen traded with one or a combination of the European powers. The Lower Creek towns and the Upper Creek town of Tallassee preferred Spanish traders, while the Alabamas in Upper Creek country favored the French. The Creek policy of factionalism allowed the Creeks to play off the European empires by trading with the one that supplied cheaper, more abundant, and better trade goods than a competing empire. Factionalism preserved Creek sovereignty by keeping towns from becoming dependent on one empire but also sowed the seeds of political division across society. (See Figure 4 below for the political geography of Creek society in the colonial period.)

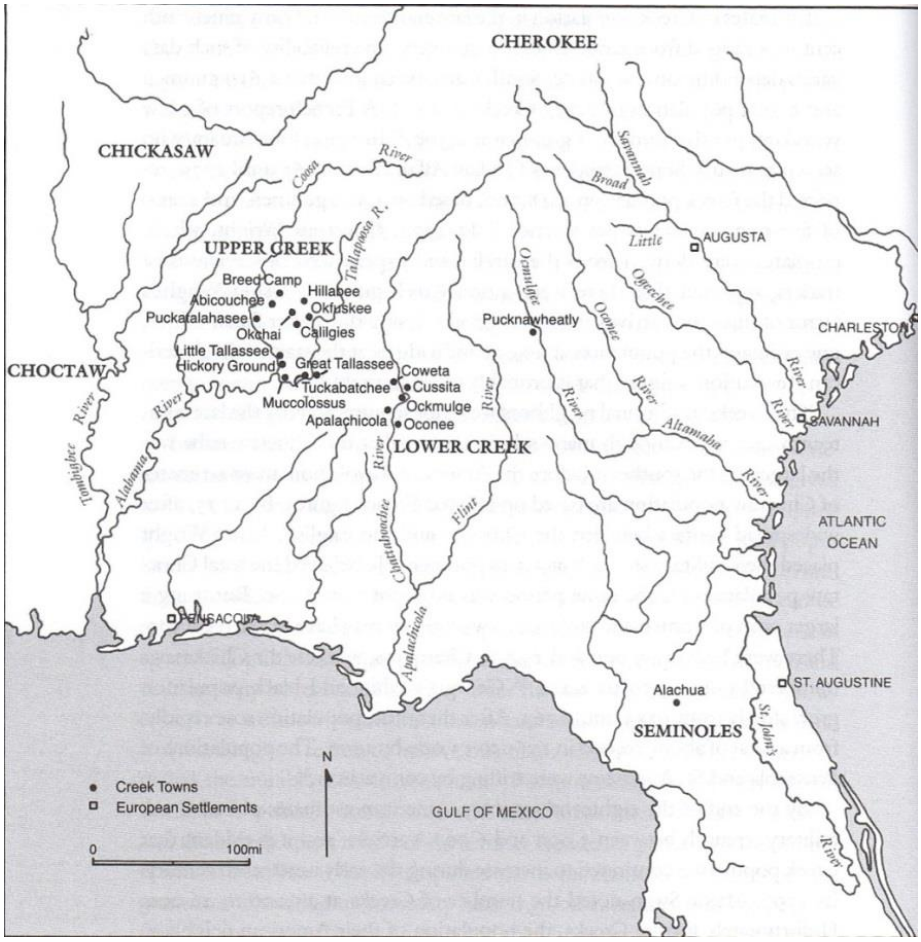

Figure 4. Creek Towns, Colonial Period. Other notable towns include Chehaw, just north of Apalachicola, and Yuchi Town, which was north of Chehaw. Both Chehaw and Yuchi Town inhabited the west bank of the Chattahoochee, whereas the town of Hitchiti lay on the east bank, north of Oconee. *Source*: Map from Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (1993; repr., Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 10.

By arguing that the Creeks engaged the Europeans as divisive factions,[1] however, scholars unwittingly interpret Creek history from Euro-centric perspectives, substituting the goals of European empires for those of indigenous leaders. I argue that Creek policy, politics, and diplomacy resulted from town-based coalitions, and not from factions, during the Seven Years' War in the Native South. As opposed to searching for the connection between a town and empire, we ought to probe the ties *within*, *between*, and *across* towns. A study of coalitions exhumes the ways in which Creek towns frequently overcame factionalized politics by partnering together to preserve Creek sovereignty during a period of unmitigated British expansion. This is not to imply that coalitions unified all Creeks at all times, but copious evidence suggests that colonization shaped the Creeks into a formidable political force, revealing their ability to politically collaborate to a greater extent than scholars have appreciated.[2] Whether a Creek town traded with the British, French, or Spanish (or all), town headmen, women, and other non-headmen

[1] Great Setter of the Tallapoosa town of Tuckabatchee held commissions from all three empires; see Document No. 2, 7/24/1759, p. 1, in Edmond Atkin to William Henry Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, William Henry Lyttelton papers, William L. Clements Library, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI (hereafter WHLP). Brims of Coweta held commissions from the Spanish and British, while numerous Coweta women clamored for British patronage. Some Coweta headmen cultivated ties with the Spanish and French, largely avoiding the British. See Steven C. Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 93-95, 113. For factionalism, see Michael D. Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 21-23; Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (1993; repr., Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 148; Hahn, 119-120. Whether Creek factionalism was a deliberate policy of neutrality or a diplomatic afterthought is debated. For neutrality, see Hahn, *Invention*, 117; for afterthought, see Michael D. Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 21-22, and Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 21-22. For Iroquois factionalism, see Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 6-7.

[2] Green, *Politics*, 21-23; Braund, *Deerskins*, 5-7, 139; Hahn, *Invention*, 81-148.

bonded within a town or across towns to service Creek goals, one of the most important of which was to maintain peace with the expansionist British.[3]

If Creeks wove coalitions from towns, clans tightened the fabric of cross-town ties. Strong circumstantial evidence suggests that clans, by way of retaliation, aided in the building and operation of multi-town confederation. For the most part, scholars assume that clans played little to no role in political or diplomatic affairs.[4] Joshua Piker's *Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler* asserts, for instance, that towns largely trumped clans in the creation of Creek political and diplomatic policy in the colonial era. "If Creek politics was a language," he writes, clan was its "accent" but town was its "syntax."[5] On the contrary, both town *and* clan were the "syntax" of Creek politics. This chapter considers, in part, two examples of that dynamic. When a Creek clan meted out retaliation on the British (or threatened to do so), headmen dealt with the diplomatic

[3] For the influence of women, young warriors, children and other non-headmen in diplomatic meetings, see Greg O'Brien, "The Conqueror Meets the Unconquered: Negotiating Cultural Boundaries on the Post-Revolutionary Southern Frontier," *Journal of Southern History* 67:1 (February 2001): 39-72, here 51, 55, and especially p. 59; Hahn, *Invention*, 93-94; and Michelle LeMaster, *Brothers Born of One Mother: British-Native American Relations in the Colonial Southeast* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2012), esp. 3-12, 15-50. For the argument that towns grounded diplomacy and politics, see Joshua A. Piker, *Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); and Piker, "'Meet at My Town': Localism in the Native American Southeast from the Mississippian Era to Removal," (unpublished manuscript): 1-56. I thank Joshua Piker for sharing his unpublished work with me.

[4] In *Okfuskee*, 10, Piker argues that in everyday life, the Creek township trumped clan affiliation; and Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 93, also argues that "one of the deepest and most abiding affiliations and loyalties" of a Creek resided in their town. I suggest that Creek politics and diplomacy, however, was bound up with both clan and town identities.

[5] Joshua A. Piker, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stories in Colonial America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 137, argues that "family [clan] was an issue in Creek politics, but not the central one. Relations between communities [towns] and nations were family *inflected*, not family *based*" (my emphasis). See same page for "If Creek politics..."

fallout by forging town-based coalitions that repaired the breach in Anglo-Creek relations occasioned by retaliation. Furthermore, when vengeance obligated headmen to attack the British, most foreswore revenge and, instead, chose to maintain peace and trade with the British. Regardless of the obligation, threat, or act of clan retaliation, clans provided the glue holding a cross-town coalition together.

The cessation of the Creek-Cherokee War in 1753 launched the Creek Indians into a sustained period of coalition-building across Creek society. In that year, headmen from the Lower and Upper Creek provinces negotiated with the Cherokees, while South Carolina Governor James Glen served as an intermediary.[6] The Creek coalition featured leadership from the Upper Creek towns of Okchai, Okfuskee, and Muccolossus as well as from the Lower Creek towns of Coweta and Cussita. In late May and early June of 1753, leading Upper and Lower Creek headmen met Governor Glen in Charles Town, where among other things they limned the outlines of a Creek-Cherokee peace. Malatchi of Coweta led the discussions with Glen, but other headmen including Wolf of Muccolossus and Okfuskee's Red Coat King and Handsome Fellow participated in the talks between Glen and Malatchi. The influential Gun Merchant of Okchai did not attend because he needed "to be present at confirming a Peace with the Cherokees," which may have taken

[6] This war originated from a complex set of factors related to British expansion and Indian dependence on trade. In 1716, a recently formed Anglo-Cherokee alliance prompted some Cherokee warriors to kill a thirteen-man peace delegation sent from the Lower Creek town of Coweta. The incident happened in the Cherokee town of Tugaloo and became known as the "Tugaloo Massacre." Throughout the 1720s, 1730s, and 1740s, the Lower Creeks raided Lower Cherokee towns and British settlements as punishment for the massacre. See William Ramsey, *The Yamasee War: A Study of Culture, Economy, and Conflict in the Colonial South* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 151-152; Steven J. Oatis, *A Colonial Complex: South Carolina's Frontiers in the Era of the Yamasee War, 1680-1730* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 223-263; and Hahn, *Invention*, 250.

place as Creek headmen parleyed with Glen.[7] By July 15, a British trader reported that Gun Merchant had dissuaded several "Head Warriours" from going out against the Cherokees.[8]

The Creek coalition blossomed in the remaining year. In late July, Red Coat King of Okfuskee sent a talk to Governor Glen showing his support for Gun Merchant's efforts to deescalate the war. Red Coat King indicated that the Creeks "will shake Hands" with the Cherokees "and make every Thing firm and strong" so long as the Cherokees gave proof of their desire for Creek-Cherokee peace. He recommended that the Cherokees bring "two Northern India[n] Slaves," who may have been recently captured by Cherokee warriors, to Creek country within "three Moons" (months). One slave was supposed to go to Coweta, the other to Okfuskee. The Okfuskee headman hoped that this ritual would "make a good Peace between us and the Cherokees."[9] Although it is unknown whether the Cherokees forwarded the luckless captives to the Creeks, the Creeks and Cherokees had indeed made peace by fall of 1753. Perhaps in late October, Malatchi of Coweta

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[7] "Proceedings of the Council Concerning Indian Affairs," 5/30/1753-6/4/1753, Charles Town, in *Colonial Records of South Carolina: Documents relating to Indian Affairs, May 21, 1750-August 7, 1754*, ed. William L. McDowell, Jr. (1958; repr., Columbia, SC: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1992), 387-414, 387 ("to be present"). Hereafter, cited as *CRSCIA, 1750-1754*, page number(s). The Creeks met with Glen primarily to discuss lowering the price of trade goods. "Malatchi and ten other Head Men from different Towns in the Lower Creek Nation" as well as "About 69 more of the Upper Creeks had come being all the Head Men of the Upper and Lower Creek Nation excepting the Gun Merchant [of Okfuskee] and Chiggilli [of Coweta]" convened with Glen (387). For a list of specific headmen, see p. 410 of the "Proceedings."

[8] James Germany to Lachlan McGillivray, 7/15/1753, Okchai ("Oackioys"), in *CRSCIA, 1750-1754*, 379. Germany noted that Mortar had "gon to war" just before Glen's letter arrived in Okchai (380). Apparently, Mortar was stopped (380).

[9] Red Coat King to Governor Glen, 7/26/1753, Okfuskee, in *CRSCIA, 1750-1754*, 380. Creeks referred to the Cherokees as the "Mountenings" or "Mountings," who lived in the Appalachian corridor; see, for example, Lachlan McIntosh to James Glen, 7/24/1753, Kialijee ("Carliges"), in *CRSCIA, 1750-1754*, 381.

informed Gun Merchant of Okchai that "a firm Peace was agreed on between the Creeks" and Cherokees. Red Coat King of Okfuskee revealed, too, that "the Peace is strong between them now."[10]

Creek headmen cultivated peace with the Cherokees as a unified political unit in 1754. In early February, the Upper and Lower Creeks coordinated a peace effort by traveling to Cherokee country. While "some Upper Creeks" went to the Cherokee town of Great Tellico, accompanied by Shawnee Indian intermediaries, the "Lower Creeks" were "expected" to arrive among the Cherokees in the same month.[11] Mortar of Okchai traveled to Cherokee country a month later "to confirm a Peace" with headmen there.[12] Mortar probably set out for the Cherokee Beloved Town of Chota, where he shared kinship ties with many of the townspeople there.[13] Aside from Mortar's probable embassy to that town, evidence confirms that "a Warrior" from Coweta had been "receaved as a Brother" in Chota sometime before mid-April, suggesting that Okchai and Coweta worked together to fasten fictive kin ties with the Cherokees via the Chota townspeople. As a result, Cherokee warriors confidently reported to Glen that the Creeks

[10] For Malatchi, Gun Merchant, and Red Coat King, see Lachlan McIntosh to Glen, 11/2/1753, Okfuskee, in *CRSCIA, 1750-1754*, 465. The Cherokees are referred to as "the Muntins" (465).

[11] Lodvic Grant to Glen, 2/10/1754, Timothy, in *CRSCIA, 1750-1754*, 476. In March, John Buckles reported that the Creeks and Cherokees hunted in the same "Woods this Winter without doing any Damage to one another"; see Buckles to Glen, 3/15/1754, in *CRSCIA, 1750-1754*, 501.

[12] Lachlan McIntosh to Glen, 4/3/1754, Kialijee ("Caileges"), in *CRSCIA, 1750-1754*, 504.

[13] For Mortar's ties to Chota, see Hahn, *Invention*, 250.

and Cherokees "now might come and go as Friends."[14] Cherokee leaders also voyaged to Creek country to confirm the peace, and in early May, Malatchi of Coweta hosted eight Cherokees, as he put it, in "my Town."[15] Malatchi later thanked Governor Glen for his assistance in ending the war, apprising him that "we are at Peace with the Chickesaws, Cherokees, and Catawbas."[16] (The latter lived in the Carolina interior.) In the first half of 1754, Upper and Lower Creeks leaders established a workable relationship as they greased the axles of the newfound Creek-Cherokee alliance.

As the Creeks and Cherokees achieved a rapprochement, tensions simmered between the French and British. In 1754, Anglo-French rivalries boiled over into the French and Indian War, with Spain allying with France. Since the early eighteenth century, the British and French had competed for dominion over the Northeast, the Ohio valley, and the Southeast, although the lucrative sugar-producing Caribbean islands were the most coveted lands. On the American mainland, each European power courted Native allies with gifts and trade goods at reduced prices. Indeed, the balance of power rested on powerful Native people, such as the Iroquois League, Shawnees, Delawares, and the South's Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. After war broke out between Britain and France in the Ohio in 1754, Europeans again relied on Indians

[14] "Warriors of Highwassee and Tommothy" to Glen, 4/15/1754, "in the House of Ludvick Grant," in *CRSCIA, 1750-1754*, 504-506, 506 ("a Warrior of the Cowataks" and "now might").

[15] Malatchi to Glen, 5/7/1754, Coweta, in *CRSCIA, 1750-1754*, 507.

[16] Malatchi, "King [Mico] of the Cawettas," to Glen, 5/12/1754, Coweta, in *CRSCIA, 1750-1754*, 500 ("we are"). Evidence suggests that the Cussitas had Malatchi thank Glen on their behalf; see George Galphin to Glen, 5/12/1754, Coweta, in *CRSCIA, 1750-1754*, 499.

allies.[17] Throughout the war, the Creeks received overtures from Britain, France, and Spain (allied to France). In Upper Creek country, the Alabama towns stuck with the French, having courted the French since the construction of Fort Toulouse ("Fort des Alibamones") in 1717.[18] The Abeika town of Okfuskee was committed to British patronage,[19] while Tuckabatchee and Coweta traded with all European powers.[20]

During the French and Indian War, British expansion undermined Creek sovereignty and engulfed Creeks in intermittent conflict with British settlers. Emboldened by the Empire's wartime supremacy, British settlers established a string of settlements in the Ogeechee and Oconee valleys in the mid-1750s.[21] There they competed with Creek and Cherokee hunters for white-tailed deer and other animals that those Indians sold to European traders in exchange for trade items.[22] Conflict inevitably surfaced. When Creeks died in skirmishes with Europeans, two principles of justice collided. On one hand, the British required murder to be adjudicated through the apprehension of the killer whose judgment was rendered in a court trial. On the other

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[17] Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), 422-435. For Creeks, see John T. Juricek, *Colonial Georgia and the Creeks: Anglo-Indian Diplomacy on the Southern Frontier, 1733-1763* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2010), 195-196, 209 ("'Gun Merchant's Treaty'").

[18] Jean-Bernard Bossu, *Jean-Bernard Bossu's Travels in the Interior of North America, 1751-1762*, ed. Seymour Feiler (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 5, 60, 126, 129-130, 135-36. Bossu toured French Louisiana twice, once from 1751 to 1757 and again from 1757 to 1762.

[19] Piker, *Okfuskee*, 15-63.

[20] For Tuckabatchee, see Document No. 2, 7/24/1759, p. 1, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP. For Coweta headmen visiting Fort Toulouse during the war, see Bossu, *Travels*, ed. Feiler, 151-152. For Coweta's ties, see Hahn, *Invention*, 225-228.

[21] According to one report, British "Idlers" (hunters) captured and skinned deer and beaver in the "Hunting grounds which they [i.e, the Creeks] call their Property." See Daniel Pepper to Lyttelton, November (?) 1756, box 3, WHLP.

[22] Braund, *Deerskins*, 149; Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 134-137.

hand, clan justice demanded that the offended clan mete out punishment on the British offender or on the British settlement where he lived.[23] The problem was that when the warriors of the deceased's clan attacked a backcountry settlement, colonists interpreted the specific raid as a general declaration of war. Thus, the failure of both Europeans and Creeks to respect the other's understandings of crime and punishment threatened to trigger an Anglo-Creek war along the Oconee and Ogeechee.[24]

To prevent that possibility, Creek headmen drew upon and reshaped the interregional coalition first forged during the Creek-Cherokee War. In the following years, Lower and Upper Creek headmen collaborated to preserve peace and, therefore, trade with the British, while attempting to keep British settlers at bay. In September 1756, for example, seven Creeks from an unknown Tallapoosa town stole property, including blankets and horses, from British colonists near the Ogeechee River. When the affronted colonists caught up with the "Indian Camp," they fired on the Tallapoosas, killing at least two of them.[25] In the wake, Okfuskee's Handsome Fellow and the Okfuskee Captain transmitted to Coweta a peace talk from South Carolina Governor William Lyttelton.[26] In his message, Lyttelton counseled all "hot headed Young

[23] For retaliation, see Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), 172, 229-32; Braund, *Deerskins*, 154-56.

[24] Braund, *Deerskins*, 156-163.

[25] For details of the Ogeechee Incident, including mention of seven Creeks, see Georgia Governor John Reynolds to South Carolina Governor William H. Lyttelton, Georgia, 9/15/1756; for Tallapoosas, see Lower Creek headmen to Reynolds, 9/17/1756, in Reynolds to Lyttelton, 10/6/1756; for "Indian Camp," see Douglass to Lower Creeks, 9/13/1756, in White Outerbridge to Lyttelton, 9/14/1756—all box 2, WHLP. Either two or three Tallapoosas died. For two deaths, see Reynolds to Lyttelton, Georgia, 9/15/1756; for three, see Douglass to Lower Creeks, 9/13/1756, in Outerbridge to Lyttelton, 9/14/1756—both box 2, WHLP.

[26] Outerbridge to Lyttelton, 9/14/1756, box 2, WHLP.

Warriors" to allow the "proper Head Men" to seek justice from the British.[27] On September 17, the Lower Creeks assembled in Coweta to discuss Lyttelton's talk. Because Malatchi had died months earlier, the Coweta leadership now included Coweta Mico, Coweta's "half Breed" Abraham, and Coweta's "red King." The new Coweta leadership spearheaded peace with the British at the September conference. Other Lower Creek leaders participated in this task: Cussita Mico ("Ischeigea"), Cussita's head warrior, and the Hitchiti-speaking micos of Chehaw, Ocmulgee, Hitchiti Town, and Apalachicola.[28]

[27] Lyttelton via Douglass to Lower Creeks, 9/13/1756, in Outerbridge to Lyttelton, 9/14/1756, box 2, WHLP.

[28] Lower Creeks to Reynolds, 9/17/1756, in Reynolds to Lyttelton, 10/6/1756, box 2, WHLP. For Malatchi's death, see Hahn, *Invention*, 225-227. Like Lyttelton, Reynolds sent a talk to the Creeks, specifically addressing it to "our beloved Friend and Brother Tukulkey" of Coweta, and then to "the rest of our Beloved Men and Warriors of the Creek Nation." See Reynolds to "Upper Creeks [sic?]," 9/14/1756, in Reynolds to Lyttelton, Georgia, 9/15/1756, box 2, WHLP.

Table 2. Five Creek Coalitions, 1753-1765. For clarity's sake, only the major provinces, towns, and headmen are listed.

Five Coalitions	Major participating provinces, towns, and headmen
- Peace coalition that negotiated with Cherokees in 1753 and 1754	- Lower Creek: Malatchi of Coweta, Cussita - Abeika: Red Coat King of Okfuskee, Mortar and Gun Merchant of Okchai
- Coalition that signed the Treaty of 1757, arising from Ogeechee incident and Bosomworth Affair	- Lower Creek: Coweta, Cussita, and Chehaw - Tallapoosa: Wolf of Muccolossus, Tallassee, Tuckabatchee - Abeika: Pucantallahassee, Hillabee, Okfuskee - Alabama: Tuskegee
- Coalition of 1758, arising from Yuchi crisis	- Lower Creek: Chehaw, Coweta, Captain Aleck of Cussita
- Upper Creek trade coalition of 1759 (inclusive of twenty-seven towns/talofas in September)	- Tallapoosa: Wolf Warrior of Fusihatchee, Tuckabatchee, Tallassee - Abeika: Okfuskee Captain of Okfuskee, Kialijee, Woccoccoie, Hillabee, Pucantallahassee
- Upper Creek peace coalition of 1764 and 1765	- Abeika: Mortar of Okchai - Tallapoosa: Emistisiguo of Little Tallassee - Alabama: Topalga (Molton) of Coosada

At the end of the meeting, Lower Creek headmen dispatched to Georgia Governor John Reynolds a peace talk trying to assure him that the Tallapoosas would not attack Georgia's Ogeechee settlements. They claimed that two colonists and two Tallapoosas perished in the Ogeechee confrontation, meaning that the parity of deaths would prevent the Tallapoosas' need to carry out retaliation. Reynolds and the Georgia settlements, Lower Creek headmen implied, had nothing to fear.[29] Yet, no evidence corroborates the Lower Creeks' report that two British settlers had died on the Ogeechee.[30] Although the headmen knew that the law of retaliation obligated the Tallapoosas to kill two British settlers, the Lower Creeks likely fudged the numbers in order to maintain ties with the British. Evidence supporting this possibility comes from British official Daniel Pepper, who believed in late September that he "shall meet with the greatest Difficulty in prevailing on the Relations of the kill'd, to be satisfy'd with Presents alone, but shall do the utmost in my Power."[31] In Pepper's estimation, the Tallapoosas planned to secure compensation by raiding the Ogeechee settlements.

For the rest of 1756 and in 1757, the Tallapoosas built on the Lower Creeks' efforts to allay British fears of a Creek revenge raid. To that end, a prominent Tallapoosa headman named Wolf of Muccolossus simultanelously and deftly handled relations with his Tallapoosa kin and with the British.[32] Although Wolf was a "Relation to one" of the

[29] Lower Creeks to Reynolds, 9/17/1756, in Reynolds to Lyttelton, 10/6/1756, box 2, WHLP.

[30] By early October, most of the fugitives had been apprehended; see Reynolds to Lyttelton, 9/22/1756, Savannah, and Outerbridge to Lyttelton, Fort Augusta, 10/10/1756—both box 2, WHLP.

[31] Daniel Pepper to Lyttleton, 9/22/1756, James Island, box 2, WHLP.

[32] Wolf mediated in the Creek-Cherokee peace of 1753 by supporting one of Governor Glen's major goals as a governor: to realize a sweeping Anglo-Indian alliance. For "Wolf King,"

slain Tallapoosas, he "thought the White People were not to be blamed," betraying his choice to forego retaliation. Evidence suggests that Wolf and his "Brother" convinced their relatives to forgive the British, likely in order to maintain trade ties with the British.[33]

After he and his relations averted the threat of retaliation, Wolf sent a message to South Carolina Governor Lyttelton in October of 1757, more than a year after the Ogeechee incident. Wolf's political acquaintance, Wolf Warrior of the nearby Tallapoosa town of Fusihatchee, carried the message to Charles Town. Wolf reported that "neither I nor the division of the Tallapooses (consisting of eight Towns)" favored their British trader, who traded to the Creeks at higher prices than the French. Although intimating that he and the Tallapoosa towns considered trading with the French, Wolf seems to have put Lyttelton on the defensive simply to reinforce Anglo-Creek ties. He apprised the Governor, for instance, that when Creek headmen "in the French interest"

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see "Proceedings," Thursday, A.M., 5/31/1753, in *CRSCIA, 1750-1754*, 397. For Glen's governorship, see Piker, *Four Deaths*, 45-51.

[33] Pepper to Lyttelton, 11/18/1756, Okchai, in *Colonial Records of South Carolina: Documents relating to Indian Affairs, 1754-1765*, ed. William L. McDowell, Jr. (1970; repr., Columbia, SC: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1992), 254 ("Relation" and "thought"), 257 ("Brother"). Hereafter, cited as *CRSCIA, 1754-1765*, page number(s). For proof that the Tallapoosas did not secure revenge, see Journal of Joseph Wright, entry 8/9/1758, Chehaw, original in Georgia Governor Henry Ellis to Lyttelton, 9/8/1758, box 8, WHLP. Writing from Chehaw, Wright noted that two Creeks had been killed by colonists on the Ogeechee "some time ago [September 1756]," and that the surviving families knew that those deaths remained unavenged. He may have told the Lower Creeks that the murderers were "yet alive only one that died in Savannah Goal."

had recently planned to attack the British, three Tallapoosa towns (led by his own, Muccolossus) stopped them.[34]

By strengthening the Anglo-Creek alliance, Tallapoosa leaders bolstered inter-Tallapoosa relations, but they also tightened Lower-Upper Creek ties. This is demonstrated by the Treaty of Savannah. In late October 1757, more than one hundred headmen representing twenty-one Lower and Upper Creek towns parleyed with Georgia Governor Henry Ellis in Savannah to discuss land issues. On October 29, the Creeks convened with Ellis in the Council Chamber. After Ellis and the Creeks shook hands, he informed them that the British did not covet their hunting grounds, but that British settlements would generously supply corn and rice to the Creeks. Serving as speaker for the delegation was none other than Wolf, who replied that he was glad to see the governor "Face to Face." Similarly, Togulky of Coweta flattered Ellis by saying that the governor received the Creeks with "stronger Tokens of Love" than other British governors. On November 3, Ellis presented the headmen with the Treaty of Savannah, and they "declared their Approbation aloud" when the five treaty articles were translated for the assembled leaders.[35]

One of the most important was Article Four, which resolved the "Bosomworth Affair," a twenty-year land dispute between colonial Georgia and a powerful married couple—Mary Bosomworth (a Creek originally named Coosaponakeesa) and her

[34] The three towns were Muccolossus, Fusihatchee, and Tuckabatchee. For Wolf's message, see "The Woolf King to his friend and brother" Lyttelton via "Woolf Warriour of the Fushatches," "pre" 10/28/1757, Savannah [?],box 6, WHLP.

[35] Treaty minutes enclosed in Ellis to Lyttelton, 11/3/1757, Savannah, box 6, WHLP. Togulky had visited Charles Town, where he probably met Lyttelton.

husband, Thomas. Because of Mary's political connections with Creeks, the Bosomworth's claimed a small acreage of land along the Savannah River and three islands along the Georgia coast for her service to the colony as a translator since the 1730s. Although she had a legitimate claim to at least the Savannah tract, headmen ceded all her claims to Georgia in the treaty.[36] Article Two acknowledged and resolved the Ogeechee Incident, stating that prior "Grievances & dissatisfactions of every kind shall be forgiven & forgot as thoroughly as if they never had happened."[37] Lastly, Article Three stipulated that "the irregularities & misdeameanours committed by the Stragglers or Vagrants of either Nation shall not" be considered as the "Act of the Nation to which they belong." This article was designed to prevent additional Ogeechee Incident-like flare-ups from morphing into general wars.[38]

The Treaty of Savannah represented the apex of Lower and Upper Creek coordination. The flurry of Creek political activity following the Ogeechee Incident gave rise to a twenty-one town coalition that signed the treaty with Governor Ellis on November 3, 1757.[39] Most Tallapoosa towns attended, including Wolf's Muccolossus,

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[36] For an analysis of the Bosomworth Affair, see Hahn, *Invention*, 202-203; and Hahn, *The Life and Times of Mary Musgrove* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2012). A Hitchiti Creek headman named Tomochichi transferred ownership of a small tract of land along the Savannah to Coosaponakeesa in 1737. Two years after the 1757 Savannah treaty, Georgia partially awarded Mary Matthews (remarried) with cash and title to land on one coastal island (*Invention*, 203).

[37] In October 1757, Wolf informed Lyttelton that the Creeks had been beset with "many disturbances"; see "Woolf King" to Lyttelton, "pre" 10/28/1757, Savannah (?),box 6, WHLP.

[38] Article Two continued: "& peace and good friendship is hereby renew'd & establish'd between the People of the Great King George called White Men, & his beloved Children of both the Creek Nations commonly called the Red Men." For treaty articles, see enclosure in Ellis to Lyttelton, 11/3/1757, Savannah, box 6, WHLP.

[39] While Steven Hahn asserts that a Creek "nation" signed the treaty, it might be more accurate to say that a Creek *coalition*, comprised of a specific number of towns, did so. See

Fusihatchee (and Wolf's ally, Wolf Warrior[40]), Tallassee, White Ground, Little Tallassee, Autossee, and Tuckabatchee. Also present were the Abeika towns of Okfuskee, Pucantallahassee, Hillabee, Wewoka, and Upper Eufaula. Key Lower towns encompassing Coweta, Cussita, Chehaw, and Oconee also signed.[41] Towns like Coweta, Okfuskee, and Muccolossus had originally worked together to forge peace with the Cherokees years earlier. That coalition expanded after the Ogeechee Incident and showcased the Creeks' ability to actively collaborate across the Creek provinces.

After signing on November 3, Lower and Upper Creek leaders promoted their coalition. Togulky's uncle, Stumpee of Coweta, declared that although the "old Men" respected all of the Anglo-Creek treaties, "it would be well that they were renewed and Confirmed in our Days," so that "the Young Men may be Witnesses to them and transmit all Knowledge of them to their Children."[42] By invoking such treaties, the first of which was signed between the Creeks and English in 1705, Togulky made the point that treaties

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Hahn, *Invention*, 261-262, 261 ("nation" and for "twenty-four" Creek signers). Moreover, whereas Juricek, *Colonial Georgia*, 218-224, examines the treaty from the perspective of Ellis's imperial goals, I trace the origins of the treaty from a Creek political perspective.

[40] His title was Yaha Tustunnuggee. See Document No. 1, 7/3/1759, Camp at "the Springs," p. 1, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP; and Jack B. Martin and Margaret McKane Mauldin, *A Dictionary of Creek/Muskogee* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 349 (*yahá*: wolf).

[41] Treaty minutes, Ellis to Lyttelton, 11/3/1757, Savannah, box 6, WHLP. Lower and Upper Creeks headmen and warriors hailed from Coweta, Cussita, Muccolossus, Hillabee, Sauwoogelo, Tallassee, White Ground, Upper Eufaula, Wewoka, Little Tallassee, "Tatmuchasse," Hatchechubbau ("Hatsechubbas"), Fusihatchee, Autossee, Pucantallahassee, Oconee, Tuskegee, Yuchi Town, Chehaw, Okfuskee, and Tuckabatchee. Spellings taken from Ethridge, *Creek Country*. For the towns' provincial affiliations, see Courtonne, List of Headmen, October 1758, box 8, WHLP.

[42] Treaty minutes, Ellis to Lyttelton, 11/3/1757, Savannah, box 6, WHLP. Stumpee was the uncle of seventeen-year-old Togulky; see Juricek, *Colonial Georgia*, 220.

united Creeks generationally, politically, and geographically.[43] Likewise, Wolf of Muccolossus told the assembled Creeks that "All of you have this Day freely Confirmed your antient Treaties with the English by a new one in which some fresh Articles are inserted." To be sure, he doubted that Creeks towns would adhere to the Savannah treaty, saying that "it has been customary for You to deny in your own Towns the Contracts you have made in those of the white People." But he invited the town headmen to band together to carry out the treaty. As he asked rhetorically, "[W]hich of you then will dare to Deny it in our Public Squares hereafter? If there is one of you that can be so base, I am the Man that will call him a Liar."[44]

No sooner had the ink dried on the Treaty of Savannah when renewed Anglo-Creek violence erupted. In the summer of 1758, British settlers killed five Yuchi Creeks. Where this occurred and why are unknown, but the law of retaliation obligated the grieving family to take revenge on five British lives. By July 20, the Yuchis had killed three colonists, including one man and two women.[45] Although two colonists remained in the Yuchis' debt, the death of three Britons triggered a diplomatic crisis between the

[43] Hahn, *Invention*, 65. On August 15, 1705, Daniel Henchman acting for Carolina Governor Nathaniel Johnston signed a "written agreement" with the Ochese Creeks; it was, according to Hahn, the "first Anglo-Creek treaty of its kind" (65). For a copy of the treaty, see item 1 in *Indian Treaties: Cessions of Land in Georgia, 1705-1837*, ed. Louise. F. Hays (Atlanta, GA: W. P. A. Project No. 7158, 1941), 1-3.

[44] Treaty minutes, Ellis to Lyttelton, 11/3/1757, Savannah, box 6, WHLP.

[45] On July 20, translator Joseph Wright learned of a rumor that the Yuchis recently killed three British settlers. By the 29th, the Chehaws confirmed the rumor. On August 4, Yuchi headmen told Wright that colonists started the conflict, having first killed five Yuchis. I assume, then, that the colonists committed this violence sometime before July 20, perhaps in early July or June. See Wright, entries 7/20/1758 and 8/4/1758, in Ellis to Lyttelton, 9/8/1758, box 8, WHLP. In September, Governor Ellis reported to Governor Lyttelton that "some time ago," the "Euchees" murdered three "poor stragling people from the northward"; see Ellis to Lyttelton, 9/8/1758, box 8, WHLP.

Creeks and Georgia. Like the Ogeechee incident, the Creeks resolved the Yuchi controversy by forging a multi-town coalition. The Chehaws took the initiative, having been the first to learn of the Yuchi retaliation. In mid-July, "Oacothla" returned home from Savannah with his Chehaw companions and discovered three dead colonists, who had been killed perhaps only moments before. The Chehaws pursued the Yuchis and, as they told British interpret Joseph Wright, wished to kill them on sight had it not been for the presence of women and children traveling with the Yuchi predatory party. This was a mere excuse, however, since the Chehaws likely respected the Yuchis' right to enforce clan justice, which was lost on Wright. In fact, on August 3, Wright "demanded the Lives of three Euchees [Yuchis]," but the Chehaws stalled him, telling Wright that they must first consult with Coweta and Cussita.[46] The Chehaws' refusal to execute the Yuchis without discussing the matter with other towns indicates that the Chehaws acknowledged a need to arrive at some sort of consensus among the Lower Creek towns.

The following day Cussita and Coweta headmen met Wright in Chehaw. After a discussion, it was agreed that Chehaw warriors should go into Yuchi Town to "kill three Euchees." In the evening, a Chehaw head warrior "with near thirty men went according to agreement [but] . . . returned without doing any thing." Again, the Chehaws hesitated. They continued to respect the Yuchis' right to exact vengeance, but they also knew that the principle of retaliation obliged the Yuchis to mete out punishment on the would-be executioners. Wright's journal indicates that the Cowetas and Cussitas supported the

[46] Wright, entries 7/20/1758, 7/29/1758, and 8/3/1758, in Ellis to Lyttelton, 9/8/1758, box 8, WHLP.

Chehaws' decision to back down.[47] During the same evening, Coweta headmen Abraham and Togulky came to Chehaw and sent for the headmen of Yuchi Town. Upon arriving in Chehaw, Yuchi Mico and other headmen conferred with the British interpreter about the recent killings. They apprised Wright that because colonists had killed five of their people, the offended clan appropriately responded by killing three, but they reminded Wright that the "English were still two in their debt." To restore peace, however, the Yuchis promised not to kill two additional colonists.[48] But Wright stubbornly "demanded" that the Cowetas "go and kill the three Euchees that had committed the Murder." On August 6, Yuchi headmen caught wind of this, with Wright learning that "if any of their people is killed by the Creeks they will kill me [Wright] as they are confident it will be thro' my means." Knowing that Wright intruded in clan affairs, the Yuchis offered to pardon any of the would-be Coweta executioners. At last, on August 9 the Lower Creeks informed Wright that they had put "one of the Murderers to death" (the other two fled).[49]

The murder of one Yuchi sanctioned by the Lower Creek leadership is explained by the fact that the Yuchis inhabited an ambiguous ethno-linguistic space in that province. Ethnic and linguistic antagonisms between the minority Yuchi speakers and majority Muskogee speakers combined with British imperialism to create an especially deadly situation for Yuchi Town. One scholar has likened the Muskogean Lower Creeks

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[47] Wright wrote that the Chehaw execution party was "disappointed by the Cussetaws and Cowetas"; see Wright, entry 8/4/1758, in Ellis to Lyttelton, 9/8/1758, box 8, WHLP.

[48] Wright, entry 8/4/1758, in Ellis to Lyttelton, 9/8/1758, box 8, WHLP. Context suggests that Lower Creek leaders and Wright were in Chehaw.

[49] Wright, entries 8/5/1758, 8/6/1758, and 8/9/1758, in Ellis to Lyttelton, 9/8/1758, box 8, WHLP.

to a political "hegemony."[50] Too, both Creek and European authorities held the Yuchis in low regard.[51] Yet, despite Lower Creek attitudes towards the Yuchis, the Lower Creek coalition exercised restraint against the Yuchis. Although they acquiesced to one execution, they probably worried that Yuchi headmen might follow through on their threat to kill Wright and thereby provoke war with the British.

To repair Anglo-Creek ties, the Lower Creek coalition drew upon bonds of clan and kinship. During the August 9 meeting, Lower Creek headmen called attention to the Ogeechee Incident, reminding Wright that British authorities never executed two colonists, as clan vengeance and, for that matter, British law, dictated. Because the Creeks and British each owed each other two executions, headmen believed therefore that it was better to drop the matter. Indeed, although the Upper Creeks had apprehended the second Yuchi, no evidence indicates that he was put to death.[52] Additionally, Lower Creek headmen enlisted Captain Aleck to calm the Yuchis and Wright. Aleck was a Cussita headman who served as speaker during the August 9 meeting and who shared affinal ties to Yuchi Town. Back in 1729, Aleck had "married three Uchee wives, and brought them to Cussetuh." Ethnic antagonisms between the Cussitas and the Yuchis forced Aleck and his wives to move downstream, where they founded Yuchi Town. Aleck's "three brothers," two of whom had "Uchee wives," soon joined him there. Later, Aleck "collected all the Uchees" who resettled in the new town. Although Aleck

[50] Steven C. Hahn, "'They Look upon the Yuchis as Their Vassals': An Early History of Yuchi-Creek Political Relations," in *Yuchi Indian Histories Before the Removal Era*, ed. Jason Baird Jackson (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 123-154, 125 ("Lower").

[51] One official wrote of the Yuchis: "Taken no great Notice of by [either] French [or] English"; see Courtonne, List of Headmen, October 1758, box 8, WHLP.

[52] Wright, entry 8/9/1758, in Ellis to Lyttelton, 9/8/1758, box 8, WHLP.

remained a Cussita townsperson and had become its "Mico" by the 1750s, he likely shuffled back-and-forth to visit his biological and adoptive kinspeople.[53] With his influence and ties, Aleck was the natural choice for speaker. Speaking for the Lower and Upper towns, Aleck assured Wright that when the two Yuchis were "found . . . they shall be killed." Aleck's language suggests, however, that the Creeks took a passive approach to the affair. Aleck himself probably refused to endorse another execution, especially since the killers may have been his family members.[54] By the late 1750s, then, Creeks responded to intense colonial pressures by uniting as coalitions and by relying heavily on networks of kinship to strengthen those coalitions.

Like the Creeks, Cherokees grappled with British colonialism. Since the early 1750s, Cherokee hunters chafed at the British presence along the upper Savannah and Ogeechee valleys. Some Creeks joined the Cherokees in a pan-Indian compact to eliminate British forts in Cherokee country and resist Britain's expansion into the Native South. From 1756 to 1759, the head warrior of Okchai named Mortar formed an alliance with the Overhill Cherokees and portions of the Lower and Upper Creeks.[55] This pan-Indian alliance enlisted the French, who looked to gain the upper hand on their wartime enemy. Creeks and Cherokees constructed a new town, Etoahatchee, on the Coosa River,

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[53] For Yuchi-Cussita ties, see Benjamin Hawkins, "A sketch of the Creek Country in the years 1798 and 1799," in *Letters, Journals, and Writings of Benjamin Hawkins*, ed. C. L. Grant (Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, 1980), 1:313. For Aleck as a Cussita "Mico" and speaker for the Lower towns, see Document No. 10, 9/28/1759, p. 2, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

[54] Wright, entry 8/9/1758, in Ellis to Lyttelton, 9/8/1758, box 8, WHLP.

[55] Mortar, according to his brother-in-law, Gun Merchant, was "the Man, that hath the most Wisdom among us [the Creeks]; & he has also the greatest Influence or Command over our Head Warriours"; see Document No. 17, 11/10/1759, Okchai (?), enclosed in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, Okfuskee, box 13, WHLP.

serving as a launching pad for attacks on Fort Loudon in Cherokee country. When the Anglo-Cherokee War erupted in 1759, most Creeks urged cool-headedness. Okfuskee's Handsome Fellow advised Mortar, "Don't be rash, or in a hurry. . . . This may be a Scheme of the French, [while] we men are all out to War against the English, to come into our Towns, & carry away all our Women and Children."[56] Though Mortar ignored his advice, few Creeks assisted Mortar and the Cherokees.[57]

Even so, the British were nervous. So in the summer and fall of 1759, Edmond Atkin visited Creek country, hoping to counter Mortar's plan and keep the Creeks away from French influences. Appointed the British "Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Southern District of North America" in 1756, Atkin was tasked with dissuading Creeks from joining the Cherokees and convincing headmen to dismiss any French (and Spanish) traders who supplied Creek towns. Atkin threatened to revoke British trade in any town that traded with Britain's enemies or teamed up with the Cherokees. In July, for instance, he warned Mortar to back down by threatening to pull out British traders from Okchai.[58] Despite Atkin's attempt to secure an exclusive Creek loyalty to the British, Creek towns,

[56] For the Okfuskee's talk, see Document No. 4, Billy Germany to Atkin, 8/20/1759, pp. 2-3, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP. The letter's chronology is unclear.

[57] By February 1760, Captain Aleck of Cussita told Atkin that the Creeks preferred "Neutrality" in the Anglo-Cherokee War, and that "they the Creeks would stand still & look on, as at a Ball Play"; see Atkin to Lyttelton, 2/13/1760, Fort Moore, box 14, WHLP. Perhaps only a few Lower Creek warriors planned to join the Cherokees in the revolt; see Atkin to Lyttelton, Fort Moore, 2/5/1760, p. 3, box 14, WHLP. For Mortar's plot, see Hahn, *Invention*, 250-253, 252 ("widespread"); for a thoroughgoing discussion of the Anglo-Cherokee War and its impact on the Native South, see Juricek, *Colonial Georgia*, 264-303.

[58] Mortar, however, still kept in contact with the Cherokees; see Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, Okfuskee, pp. 3-5, box 13, WHLP.

such as Tuckabatchee, refused to dump their French and Spanish traders. As a result, one scholar characterizes Atkin's diplomacy as a "resounding failure."[59]

By examining the Superintendent's mission from the perspective of Creeks, I show that at least among the Upper Creeks, Abeika and Tallapoosa townspeople preserved British trade by creating a trade coalition that kept Atkin at arm's length. Tuckabatchee became a vibrant center of diplomacy and Abeikas and Tallapoosas prominently shaped negotiations with Atkin. Atkin's diplomacy, precisely because it impinged on Creek autonomy, prompted several town communities to organize within, discuss common goals, and grease the axles of inter-town ties.

When Atkin arrived among the Lower Creeks in April 1759, headmen greeted him with gestures of goodwill and friendship. He and his small retinue "came within 22 miles of the Lower Towns," where they were "met by a great many Beloved men, Mico's, & head Warriours." Headmen presented him with a white "wing" on behalf of "the Upper & Lower Towns." By doing so, the headmen established peaceful relations with Atkin and adopted him as a fictive kinsperson. This status encouraged him to treat all the towns as fellow allies.[60] The Anglo-Lower Creek relationship, however, immediately soured. For weeks, the Superintendent threatened to revoke British trade with any town that traded with or held commissions from the French. By late June, he

[59] For Atkin's threat "to deprive the Cussitas of its Trade," see Ellis to Lyttelton, Savannah, 10/16/1759, box 12, WHLP. The Superintendent temporarily removed British traders from Yuchi Town and seven Alabama towns; see Juricek, *Colonial Georgia*, 239, 241, 246, 262 ("resounding"). Steven Hahn examines Atkin's mission through the lens of Tuckabatchee's commitment to neutrality; see Hahn, *Invention*, 245-250, 252 ("revolt").

[60] In July, Atkin described the April initiation ceremony; see Document No. 1, 7/9/1759, Cedar Creek, p. 5, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

had alienated many headmen in Coweta and Cussita. Wearing out his welcome, he departed for Upper Creek country to assess Creek wartime loyalty there.[61]

Upper Creek headmen cautiously approached the Superintendent in early July, when he arrived near the Tallapoosa River. On July 3, he was greeted by twenty-one headmen from "6 Tallapoosa Towns." The six towns included Fusihatchee, White Ground, Autossee, Tallassee, Little Tallassee, and Tuckabatchee. Head warrior of Fusihatchee, Yahah Tustunnuggee (Wolf Warrior), a close ally of Wolf of Muccolossus, welcomed Atkin to Upper Creek country. As "Speaker" for the Tallapoosas, he opened by saying that "You come from the Great King, and we look upon you as himself." He admitted that "There are but few of us here you see. [Nor] are [there] old People among us." Wolf Warrior assured Atkin that the Tallapoosa delegation, though "young" and inexperienced in diplomacy, "represent[ed] the old People," who had empowered the young men to greet the Superintendent and his small retinue.[62] Atkin responded with kind words, but got down to brass tacks. "I have heard a great deal of french Talks in my coming up here," he said, "& you have a French Fort [Toulouse] in your Country." The "Great King" had sent the Superintendent "to see who are his Friends among the red People," who, in any case, were "free" to trade with anyone they wished. In the same breath, however, he said that if the Creeks "love the French better," then "let them take care of you." Atkin aggressively implied that any Upper Creek town that welcomed both

[61] Juricek, *Colonial Georgia,* 239, 242.

[62] Document No. 1, 7/3/1759, Camp at "the Springs," p. 1, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

French and British traders catered to Britain's enemies. He further threatened, by implication, to revoke British traders from towns that refused to part with the French.[63]

The Superintendent's menacing stance prompted the Upper Creeks to assemble a trade coalition dedicated to preserving British trade, especially since they received the bulk of European goods from the British. The coalition included those from most (in one case, all) Upper Creek province, which comprised roughly twenty-six Abeika, Tallapoosa, and Alabama towns.[64] Both the Tallapoosas and Abeikas manned the coalition, though the Tallapoosa leadership initially predominated. The July 3 meeting, for instance, featured Tallapoosa leadership. Wolf Warrior apprised Atkin that "we have the Mouth of one of the greatest Mico's in our Nation (The Talsey [Tallassee] Mico)," a prominent Tallapoosa headman who may have appointed the young delegation to meet with Atkin. Moreover, the Tallapoosa speaker said that "I will send your talk to all" the Abeika and Tallapoosa "Towns [so] that they may know it." That evening he "sent" the Briton's "talk" to Tallassee Mico.[65]

As a result of Wolf Warrior's (and the Tallapoosas' efforts), on July 7 "about 80" Tallapoosas and Abeikas greeted Atkin, encamped seven miles from Tuckabatchee. They represented a majority of Upper Creek towns (at least fifteen of twenty-six). In addition to the Tallapoosa warriors who first met Hawkins on the 3rd, other Tallapoosa

[63] Document No. 1, 7/3/1759, Camp at "the Springs," p. 1-2, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

[64] Jerome Courtonne listed twenty-five Upper towns in his List of Headmen of the Creeks, October 1758, box 8, WHLP. By 1759, there appears to have been a twenty-sixth, the Abeika polity of "New Town," of which "Chiskaliga" was a headman; see Document No. 1, 7/7/1759, Cedar Creek, p. 4, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

[65] Document No. 1, 7/3/1759, Camp at "the Springs," p. 2 and Document No. 1, 7/4/1759, Camp at "the Springs," p. 3—both in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

headmen turned out, including Tuckabatchee's "half Breed Captain, Head Beloved man & others of that Town." Abeika leaders, too, attended, such as the Okfuskee Captain; two Hillabee "Captains"; the Upper Eufaula Captain; Wewoka's Second Man; Little Warrior of Sugatspoges, an Okfuskee village; Dog King of Woccoccoie; the "Head Warriour" of Kialijee; and Deval's Landlord of Pucantallahassee (Table 2). A Creek headman named "Chiskaliga of New Town" as well as some Choctaw "Chiefs" and "their People" also participated. Within four days, then, Wolf Warrior of Fusihatchee and the Tallassee Mico nearly quadrupled the number of headmen and other Creeks who paid a visit to the new Superintendent.[66]

The numerical growth of headmen indicates that Upper Creek communities supported the emerging coalition. It soon experienced a subtle political change, though. While Fusihatchee and Tallassee initiated talks with Atkin, seasoned diplomats from Okfuskee and Tuckabatchee led the July 7 meeting. The Okfuskee Captain and Tuckabatchee's Beloved Man, Half Breed, completed the process whereby Atkin was rendered an ally and fictive kinsperson, a process begun by Wolf Warrior. After a series of rituals, the Okfuskee Captain opened, "I am one of the Abehkas, & I speak for them, & the Tallapoosas." He invited Atkin to Tuckabatchee, "a Friend Town to Coweta," where the Superintendent had visited weeks earlier, telling him that "Headmen from every Town in the Upper Crick Country are met, & ready to receive you" there. Half Breed

[66] Document No. 1, 7/7/1759, Cedar Creek, p. 4, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP. Although Tuckabatchee's mico, Great Setter, did not attend, he sent other town headmen to meet Atkin in the woods. According to etiquette, micos conducted diplomacy in the town square ground, sending their councilors outside of the town to speak for them. Town spellings take from Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 29 (figure 2).

seconded the Okfuskee headman, saying "You have [spent] a considerable time in the Woods, & no doubt you are tired & hungry. and as we know you are come to see your Friends, we receive you as such." At that point, he gave Atkin "a white Wing" as "a Token of Friendship among us." Consequently, the Upper Creeks and British officially became allies.[67]

The Upper Creek towns sponsored Atkin's reception in Tuckabatchee. The July 7 meeting was "the first time . . . ever" that headmen "came out of their Towns to receive [a European] Agent," meaning Atkin, who remained encamped "in the Woods." The novelty of this diplomatic setting required the participation of hundreds of Upper Creeks to legitimize Atkin's procession to Tuckabatchee, which lay seven miles west of camp. Breaking camp, dozens of Creeks conducted the Agent, his soldiers, and traders into Tuckabatchee. Ritual specialists headed the delegation, singing "almost all the way" to town. As the party approached, more than "500 Persons" thronged "[i]n and about the Square." Creek men and women "from every [Upper Creek] Town" (i.e., twenty-six towns) looked on. Before allowing Atkin to enter the sacred square ground, Tuckabatchee leaders purified the Agent by stroking his face with "Eagle tails," ritual symbols of peace. Finally, he was permitted to sit in the mico's cabin, where "the Headmen one after another came & shook hands" with him "& the Black Drink was handed [around] twice." Five hundred Upper Creeks hailing from dozens of towns

[67] Document No. 1, 7/7/1759, Cedar Creek, pp. 4-5, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP. Atkin told Half Breed that the Lower Creeks had given him a wing "(now in my hand) in the Name of the Upper & Lower Towns; and I was then desired to carry it in my hand into all their Towns" (p. 5).

therefore constructed a formidable coalition that legitimized the Tuckabatchee welcome ceremony.[68]

Tuckabatchee became the node of Upper Creek politics during the French and Indian War. While Joshua Piker shows that Okfuskee, as a town, helped forge Anglo-Creek ties, I show that Tuckabatchee, as a town and as a headquarters of a multi-town trade coalition, did as well.[69] Several factors made Tuckabatchee the coalition headquarters. The turnout of five hundred Upper Creeks in the July 7 welcome ceremony privileged that town in encounters with Atkin. Although Atkin visited other towns like Okfuskee and Okchai, Tuckabatchee appears to have been Atkin's primary host town.[70] Likewise, Tuckabatchee's geography was politically important. Wolf of Muccolossus noted that it "is the properest place" for an Upper Creek meeting "as it is the most Central" between the Lower and Upper Creek towns.[71] Kinship, too, centered Tuckabatchee in Creek politics. The town shared kinship ties with the Lower towns and was, specifically, a "Friend" town of Coweta.[72] In short, Tuckabatchee was well-positioned to lead the Upper Creeks in diplomacy with the bellicose Superintendent.

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[68] Document No. 1, 7/7/1759, p. 4-6, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP. Diplomatic conferences were rarely as large as the "500 persons" who attended Tuckabatchee's in July 1759.

[69] Piker, *Okfuskee*, 15-74.

[70] He traveled to Okfuskee in October and November, and apparently Okchai in November. See Atkin to Lieutenant Richard Coytmore, Document No. 13, 10/20/1759, Okfuskee, p. 1; Atkin to Captain Paul Demerè, Document No. 14, 10/28/1759, Okfuskee, p. 1; Document No. 17, 11/10/1759, Okchai (?); and Document No. 18, 11/16/1759, Okfuskee, p. 1—all in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

[71] Document No. 1, 7/9/1759, Tuckabatchee, p. 11, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

[72] Hahn, *Invention*, 242 (kinship ties); Document No. 1, 7/7/1759, Cedar Creek, p. 4, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP ("Friend" town).

Tuckabatchee's first official conference with Atkin opened on July 9. Some "200 Indians" turned out, a diminishment from the "500 Persons" who attended the welcome ceremony two days earlier. The reduction in numbers is explained by the fact all Upper towns had already given their consent to headmen to conduct diplomacy with Atkin. Now that the welcome ceremony was over, diplomats could get down to business. Even so, a majority of Upper towns sanctioned the July 9 conference. Headmen represented, for instance, eight Tallapoosa towns and eleven Abeika towns for a total of twenty-one (of twenty-six) Upper towns. Furthermore, the who's who of Upper Creek country attended—Tallassee Mico, the Long Lieutenant of Tallassee, Tuckabatchee Mico Great Setter, Hoithlewaulee Mico, Second Man ("Eenyhah thlucko") of Little Tallassee, and Gun Merchant of Okchai.[73] The drop in numbers between July 7 and July 9 was therefore offset by the participation of major headmen and a majority of Upper Creek towns.

Backed by their communities, Upper Creek leaders managed to neutralize the Superintendent and preserve British trade. Atkin began talks with a long-winded speech scolding the Upper towns for trading with the French and for refusing to pledge their loyalty solely to the British. He directed his anger at Gun Merchant, especially his

[73] Document No. 1, 7/9/1759, Tuckabatchee Square, p. 7, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP. Cooloome, a Tallapoosa town, sent "none" (p. 7). Ten Abeika headmen who attended both the conference and the ceremony included the Upper Eufaula Captain; the Okfuskee Captain; Little Warrior of Sugatspoges; Kialijee's "Chief Warriour"; Dog King of Woccoccoie; two Hillabee "Captains"; Deval's Landlord of Pucantallahassee; Wewoka's Second Man; and "Chiskaliga" of "Newtown" (p. 4). Five Chickasaw-Creeks from Breed Camp, an Upper Creek town, as well as "a few" Alabamas participated too (p. 4). The Choctaws ("460 Men & 20 Women") tried to meet with Atkin during the conference, but "Some were advised to go back" (p. 11). They came to renew Anglo-Choctaw trade. Thirty Choctaws "with 4 Chiefs," however, attended the actual conference (p. 7).

brother-in-law, Mortar, who snubbed Atkin by abstaining from the conference. Atkin excoriated the Okchais for having invited the Cherokees to "this Nation." When Atkin finished speaking, headmen avoided this touchy issue. Gun Merchant redirected the conversation to Britain's relationship with the French-allied Choctaws, warning Atkin that "it will [not] be safe for the English, to go into the Chactaw Nation." The headman flattered Atkin by saying warmly, "I love the White People; or else I would not have given [Atkin] that advice." For his part, Long Lieutenant of Tallassee bragged to Atkin that five years earlier (in 1754) he had visited the Choctaws to try to repair a breach in Anglo-Choctaw relations.[74] Gun Merchant and Long Lieutenant successfully shielded the Upper towns from Atkin's wrath.

Weeks later, Tuckabatchee hosted a second conference with the Superintendent to keep British trade flowing. On July 24, Great Setter, other town headmen, and Atkin assembled in the town square to discuss Tuckabatchee's alliances with the Spanish, French, and British. Great Setter opened by defending his choice to "take fast hold of the hand of all White People, & push none away." Atkin criticized the headman for obtaining commissions from all three empires and threatened to yank the British trader from Tuckabatchee should the mico refuse to produce his French commission for the Superintendent. The headman promised to do so after the upcoming Busk, which was scheduled to begin "tomorrow" (July 25). He informed Atkin that "you know we cant stir from our Square for 8 Days" during Busk. Great Setter offered one concession. He ordered the town speaker, Mad Dog, to surrender the town's French flag to Atkin. Upon

[74] Document No. 1, 7/9/1759, Tuckabatchee Square, pp. 8-12, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP. Hahn, *Invention*, 255 (brother-in-law).

doing so, Mad Dog declared Tuckabatchee a "Friend Town" of the British, thereby fostering an Anglo-Tuckabatchee alliance. In exchange, Atkin presented an English flag to Great Setter.[75]

Because Creek leaders' legitimacy rested on community input, Tuckabatchee leaders invited the townspeople to participate in the Anglo-Tuckabatchee alliance. For instance, headmen merged the alliance with the Busk festival by deliberately wrapping up negotiations with the Agent on July 25—the Busk's opening day. On the morning of the 25th, the Superintendent, other British officials, and "about 30" Tuckabatchees, who were probably men, convened in the square ground. After the ritual exchange of black drink, Atkin announced the formation of the Anglo-Tuckabatchee alliance, and appointed the head warrior Hopoya Mico to arbitrate future disputes with the town's British trader. Attending the gathering was the former mico, Old Bracket. According to him, the alliance merely renewed an old alliance with the British, saying that "I have had the Pleasure to see Three English Mico's before you, & now I have seen you, my heart is

[75] Document No. 2, 7/24/1759, pp. 1-6, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP. Recently, a Spanish official had visited Tuckabatchee and invited the headmen there to confer with the Spanish in Pensacola. Great Setter promised that he would visit Pensacola "next Moon" (p. 1). Relatedly, Great Setter had traveled to Fort Toulouse twice that summer to renew his French commission with the new fort commander. For the moment, Tuckabatchee had only a French "Suit of Colours" (flag) (p. 1). Offended, Atkin implied he would revoke trade: "if you love the French better than the English, the Great Kings [*sic*] People have no Business here" (p. 2). For the Busk beginning "tomorrow" or July 25, see p. 4. For its lasting "2 [perhaps "8"] Days," see p. 2. Eighteenth-century Busks usually lasted anywhere from four to eight days; see John R. Swanton, *Creek Religion and Medicine* (1928; Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 546-611. While Mad Dog may have been Half Breed's "Son" (p. 5), it is more likely that he was his nephew, according to the matrilineal norms of Creek leadership. A year earlier, in October 1758, a British official reported that Tuckabatchee had once been "a remarkable Town for its Loyalty to the English but of late not so Stanch"; Courtonne, List, October 1758, box 8, WHLP.

very glad."[76] Later, Half Breed invited Atkin to take the black drink during the entirety of the Busk.

The women also helped seal the alliance by engaging in the Women's Dance, a hallmark of eighteenth-century Creek Busks (Figure 5). On the 24th, headmen gave "Orders . . . to the Women, to prepare Victuals for the Square; & to get ready to dance." The dance may have taken place on the 25th, when headmen concluded negotiations and initiated the Busk or, possibly, the 26th, the second day of Busk.[77] In accounts of nineteenth- and early-twentieth century Creek Busks, women danced at intervals, usually on the second, sixth, and sometimes the eighth and final day. The Women's Dance was the most common female dance at a Busk. According to one anthropologist, women danced on the second and sixth days of the Tuckabatchee Busk. In several towns during the Busk women provided food to the fasting men, perhaps on the third day, and brought the new fire to their homes.[78] Women were addressed by unique ceremonial titles,

[76] Document No. 2, 7/25/1759, p. 7-10, 12 in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP. Atkin gave the headmen presents before the conference in exchange for their consent to a policy change in trading relations. For evidence suggesting that the Busk began on July 25, see pp. 4, 7. Typically, on the first day, a town assembled in the square ground and took the black drink. Tuckabatchee probably followed this pattern in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; see Swanton, *Creek Religion*, 605-06. For spelling of "Hopoya Mico," see Juricek, *Colonial Georgia*, 249. In the evening, the Tuckabatchee Mico petitioned Atkin to roll back the price of ammunition, powder, and paint to that set in the early 1700s, when Tuckabatchee and Britain first forged an alliance. The mico hoped to use the renewed alliance to revive prior trade policy, but his attempt failed, as Atkin gave no definitive response (p. 10).

[77] For "Orders," see Document No. 2, 7/24/1759, p. 7, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

[78] Swanton, *Creek Medicine*, 605-606. Swanton summarized the characteristics of two Tuckabatchee poskitás, one an "older form," probably a reference to pre-Removal poskitás (605). The second description probably refers to early-twentieth-century Tuckabatchee poskitás. In the "older" form, the "women dance[d]" on the sixth day. It seems certain that across most Creek towns women danced on the second day. The Hitchiti Jackson Lewis reported to Swanton that the women danced on the second day of the Eufaula Busk (604). Benjamin Hawkins reported the

including "Hōmpita haya ('food preparers') or Tcukole′idji ('having a house')."[79] These titles were gender-based and underscored the capacities of Creek women as culinary providers, clan leaders, and domestic property owners. Based on ethnographic and archival evidence, we can conclude that Tuckabatchee's women consented to the British alliance by dancing on the first or second day of the Busk and perhaps by preparing food for the Creek and European diplomats in and around the square ground.

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same for Cussita, although Cussita's Turkey clan women held the Turkey Dance on the first day (603).

[79] Swanton, *Creek Medicine*, 614. In Tuckabatchee, the title of "having a house" may have been addressed to only the four female leaders of the Women's Dance. In addition to women, children were probably addressed by this name.

Figure 5. John Swanton, "The Creek Busk: The Women's Dance," ca. 1912. Donning white regalia, women danced in the sacred square ground. White was the symbol of peace, alliance, and friendship. During the July 1759 Tuckabatchee Busk, the Women's Dance may have looked similar to the one pictured here. *Source*: John R. Swanton, *Creek Religion and Medicine* (1928; Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), Plate 8, facing p. 588.

In the wake of the Anglo-Tuckabatchee alliance, the Upper Creek trade coalition dealt with Atkin once and for all. On September 21, probably with Tuckabatchee's consent, Atkin called a "General Meeting," where he wished to evaluate Creek loyalties and dissuade Creek warriors from teaming up with the Cherokees and French. On the 28th, the conference opened, and about 150 "Principal men of the Nation" arrived. Of a total of thirty-six major Creek towns in 1759, headmen represented at least twenty-seven. A cross-stitch of towns from the major provincial divisions attended, including five Lower Creek, seven Tallapoosa, thirteen Abeika, and two Alabama towns. Additionally, headmen from five Creek *talofas* attended.[80] Granted, some communities, such as four Lower Creek towns and one Upper Creek town, refused to participate in the Upper Creek trade coalition and sent no headmen to the September 28 meeting.[81] Yet, other towns not only attended but also probably encouraged one another to attend. It is likely, for example, that Muccolossus and Wewoka co-agreed to send their headmen (Wolf and the Long Second Man, respectively); two documents suggest the closeness of these towns.[82]

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[80] Great Setter ("General"), in Document No. 2, 7/24/1759, p. 3, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP. For September 21 date, see Atkin to Lieutenant Richard Coytmore, Document No. 13, 10/20/1759, Okfuskee, p. 1, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP. For conference, see Document No. 10, 9/28/1759, pp. 1-2, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP. Hoithlewaulee, a Tallapoosa town, abstained. Headmen from five talofas: "Chiayaychy" of "Chiskytahloofa," Mad Warrior of Pucknawheatly, "Abekouchy mico" of "Talseyhatchey," "Okeelysaneeka" (among others) of "Alcahatchy," and "Ischally" of "Loustyhatchey" (p. 2). On September 7, Atkin held a small meeting with Tallapoosa headman to try to "restore the Wolf to his lost Credit"; see Document No. 7, 9/7/1759, Muccolossus, and Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, Okfuskee, p. 7 ("restore")—both in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

[81] The Upper town was Hoithlewaulee, while the four Lower towns included Apalachicola and, likely, Oconee, Chehaw, and Ouseechee; see Document No. 10, 9/28/1759, pp. 1-2, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

[82] Document No. 10, 9/28/1759, p. 3; and Document No. 18, 11/16/1759, p. 1—both in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

And among those towns where the leadership was divided, many headmen turned out in support of the trade coalition. Although Mortar and Gun Merchant rejected the Superintendent, Okchai's "H^{d} Warr," "Chunosty mico," and "Hoathlypoya hahgio" all attended the September 28 conference in Tuckabatchee. The head warrior bore a British commission, and he may have wanted to keep it, despite Mortar's hatred for the British. Moreover, although Tallassee Mico abstained, Tallassee's Beloved Man and two prominent warriors attended.[83]

At least six Upper Creek towns sent a headman bearing the title of *Okeelysa*, suggesting that the Upper Creeks coordinated a formidable response to Atkin. An Okeelysa was known as a "Master of the Ground." Usually a man, an Okeelysa belonged to a town's founding clan, which owned the community's farmlands. He also bore responsibility for allotting any farmland to latecomer clans who settled in the town and partook of the sacred fire. As a result, an Okeelysa interwove family into a harmonious township whole.[84] The six Okeelysas who attended the September 28 conference, then, sought to protect the interests of their town's families, including those in two Tallapoosa towns (Cooloome and White Ground), three Abeika towns (Hillabee, Woccoccoie, and Upper Eufaula), and one Abeika village ("Alcahatchy").[85]

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[83] For Okchai and Tallassee, see Document No. 10, 9/28/1759, p. 1, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

[84] Piker, *Okfuskee*, 115-117 (115 for quote).

[85] Document No. 10, 9/28/1759, pp. 1-2, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP. "Okeelysa" of "Coolamy," "Okeelysa" of "Conhatky," "Keelysaneehaha" of Hillabee, "Keelysaneeha" of Woccoccoie, "Okeelysa" of "Eufawla," and "Okeelysaneeka" of "Alcahatchy" are listed (pp. 1-2). The Okeelysa Heniha ("Keelysaneeha" of Woccoccoie) might have been the assistant to an Okeelysa.

Some of the political heavyweights of Creek country balked at Atkin's call for a meeting. Although Tallassee and Tuckabatchee headmen attended, the micos of each town did not. Tallassee Mico was "at home," just across the river from Tuckabatchee, while Great Setter was in "Pansicola," cultivating ties with the Spanish.[86] Nor did headmen attend from the prominent Lower Creek town of Apalachicola or from three other Lower Creek towns.[87] Although three Okchai headmen turned out, brothers-in-law Gun Merchant and Mortar were "Absent."[88] Mortar remained fiercely opposed to the British. Evidence suggests that Mortar and Gun Merchant convened a meeting in Okchai in September, thus drawing away headmen from the "General Meeting" in Tuckabatchee in order to undermine Atkin.[89] To some extent, then, the non-attendance of those like Great Setter and Gun Merchant exposed the divisions in how the Upper Creeks handled Atkin.

The Upper Creek trade coalition plunged ahead, however, and faced Atkin with a powerful political cohesiveness. Atkin opened by expressing his "Pleasure" at seeing "so large a Meeting" of Creek headmen. Minutes later, he created "a Buz" among headmen when he said "as the French have said to you[:] If you say be gone, I will go directly, &

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[86] Document No. 10, 9/28/1759, p. 1, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

[87] Apalachicola shared Mortar's distrust of Atkin; see Atkin to Coytmore, Document No. 13, 10/20/1759, p. 1, Okfuskee, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP. Captain Aleck of Cussita, "Speaker for [the] Lower Towns," informed Atkin that "Headmen are absent from four [three, besides Apalachicola] of the Lower Towns"; see Document No. 10, 9/28/1759, p. 3, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

[88] Document No. 10, 9/28/1759, p. 1, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP ("Absent").

[89] Document No. 4, Billy Germany to Atkin, 8/20/1759, p. 2-3, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP. Okchai was a popular Upper Creek meeting place in the colonial period; see, for instance, item 22, Upper Creek meeting, 5/28/1751, "Oakehoy Town Square," in *Indian Treaties*, ed. Hays, 46-47.

carry all the King's People [traders] with me." He also boasted of British military superiority and announced that he "put a stop to the Trade" with the Alabamas, who did not view the British "as Friends." As headmen bristled from Atkin's confrontational language, a head warrior of Cussita named Talhlalegey leapt up and attacked the Superintendent four times with a pipe hatchet, severely injuring but not killing him. Frightened, the "Whole Assembly" disbanded.[90] Although headmen may not have supported (or known about) the warrior's attempt to murder the Superintendent, they all repudiated Atkin nonetheless. The coalition leveraged its power by refusing to invite him back to the square ground. Instead, on the 29th leaders made Atkin deliver the remainder of his speech in the yard of Tuckabatchee headman, Half Breed. Half Breed, who was allegedly "Sick," abstained from the speech, a blow to Atkin's credibility. Several other headmen absented themselves from the unceremonious occasion, including Emistisiguo of Little Tallassee, who was also "Sick." Atkin again annoyed headmen by droning on about Franco-Creek alliances. At one point, he expressed frustration over the fact that the Creeks had granted permission to the French to build Fort Toulouse in 1717, decades earlier. In an unprecedented move, headmen refused to deliver a formal response to the talk. One of Britain's staunchest Creek allies, Wolf of Muccolossus, "had no Answer to make."[91] Gun Merchant of Okchai later remarked that "I never knew the time when no

[90] Document No. 10, 9/28/1759, pp. 3-4, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

[91] Document No. 10, 9/29/1759, pp. 7-11, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP. The minutes list the absent headmen, including Ufylegey of Coweta, Talhlalegey of Cussita, "Enyhahmico" (Half Breed), "Hoboytustunnogy" (Emistisiguo) of Little Tallassee, a Hitchiti "Beloved man," who was "sent" with the "News" to the Lower towns, and "some others unknown" (p. 7).

Answer was made to a Talk." The Creeks' snub was historic. Creek leaders were "surprized; & seemed to have lost their usual wits"; they were "daunted" and "confounded" and "could make no answer."[92] By October, some Creeks visited the Georgia Governor to call for Atkin's dismissal.[93] The Superintendent remained in Creek country until December and occasionally met with individual leaders, but he was never invited to speak again at a formal Creek assembly.[94]

If Atkin's 1759 embassy was an abysmal failure, the Upper Creek trade coalition was a smashing success. Having secured the removal of the Superintendent, who represented one of the most powerful empires in the early modern world, Creeks demonstrated their ability to unite and achieve results. Tuckabatchee centered this coalition as its headquarters. Locally, in the July 24-25 negotiations, the Tuckabatchee townspeople, including the mico, head warrior, beloved man, speaker, and common men and women, participated collectively in renewing the Anglo-Tuckabatchee alliance. Tuckabatchee promoted regional coalitions, as when all Upper towns welcomed Atkin on July 7 and when most Upper towns met with him on the 9th. Local and regional ties, in turn, became the building blocks of an inter-provincial meeting on September 28 that included both the Lower and Upper towns. The twenty-seven-town coalition grew to encompass major Lower towns like Cussita and Coweta. That larger coalition

[92] Document No. 17, 11/10/1759, p. 1, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

[93] Ellis to Lyttelton, 10/16/1759, Savannah, box 12, WHLP. Wolf of Muccolossus indicated that most Creeks had come to distrust their agent; see Document No. 18, 11/16/1759, p. 1, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

[94] Juricek, *Colonial Georgia*, 258. Fearing that he might cut off British trade as a punishment for Talhlalegey's attempt to murder him, the Creeks tolerated Atkin's presence in Creek country until December.

undermined Atkin's authority in Creek country and successfully preserved Anglo-Creek trade, though the coalition undountedly remained fragile because it depended on individual leaders' whims. But it is all the more remarkable that many Creek towns banded together in 1759 to preserve their autonomy and interests.[95]

On September 18, 1759, just ten days before the Tuckabatchee conference opened, the French surrendered the city of Quebec to the British after a brief battle on the Plains of Abraham. The fall of Quebec ensured Britain's victory, and by the following September, the Governor-General of New France had surrendered French Canada to the British. Only the Caribbean theater of war remained. In 1761, France and Spain struck an alliance to defend their interests in the Caribbean sugar islands. In response, Britain declared war on Spain in January 1762 and, within months, captured Spanish Cuba and French Martinique. In February 1763, France and Spain conceded victory to the British in the Treaty of Paris, bringing the Seven Years' War to an end. Britain gained Canada and all remaining lands in North America east of the Mississippi from the French and Spanish. Spain reacquired Cuba by surrendering Florida to Britain, and acquired New Orleans and Louisiana from the French.[96] From 1763 to 1783, eastern North America remained in British hands, while the Spanish held sway in the western part of the continent.

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[95] Document No. 10, 9/28/1759, pp. 1-2, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

[96] Taylor, *American Colonies*, 431-432; Juricek, *Colonial Georgia*, 298-299. In exchange for ceding Canada to Britain, France retained Martinique, Guadeloupe, and St. Lucia, productive sugar colonies.

The Paris Peace marked a "turning point" in the history of Native North America.[97] By it, Britain gained half of the continent and claimed sovereignty over all Indian people who lived there. Because no Indians had been invited to the treaty conference in Paris, Native people were dumbfounded to learn by mid-1763 that the treaty awarded Indian lands to the British. Mortar and Gun Merchant of Okchai were astonished that the British were "going to take all the Lands which they [i.e., the Creeks] *lent* the French and Spaniards" (my emphasis). Creeks had merely "lent" the land to Europeans, whose occupation was to remain brief and who would one day retrocede it back to the Creeks.[98] Aside from illegally claiming Indian land, British supremacy demolished the play-off system. Creeks could no longer pit the French, Spanish, and British against each other to secure favorable trade prices and exact other concessions. Until the late 1770s, Britain dictated terms of trade, while Creek consumers accumulated massive debts to British traders. To forgive Creek debts, imperial and colonial officials wrestled land cessions from the Creeks in the 1760s and 1770s.[99]

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[97] Hahn, *Invention*, 269 (quote).

[98] Mortar and Gun Merchant to Georgia Governor James Wright, 5/8/1763, Okchai, in *Georgia Treaties, 1733-1763*, ed. John T. Juricek, vol. 11 of *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789*, ed. Alden T. Vaughan (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1989), 352 (hereafter GT). Hahn notes that Okchai was "the leading Abika war town," making it an influential town in Upper Creek diplomacy in the 1750s and 1760s (223).

[99] For the Paris Peace, see Green, *Politics of Indian Removal*, 29-31; Braund, *Deerskins*, 148; Hahn, *Invention*, 269-274; Piker, *Okfuskee*, 65; and Juricek, *Colonial Georgia*, 299; O'Brien, *Choctaws*, 9-10; Tyler Boulware, *Deconstructing the Cherokee Nation: Town, Region, and Nation among Eighteenth-Century Cherokees* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2011), 131. For the treaty's impact on the British colonies, see Taylor, *American Colonies*, 433-437. For its global significance, see Colin G. Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

The Paris Peace challenged Creek sovereignty in the postwar period, but it did not wholly diminish opportunities for political action in Creek society.[100] The Upper Creek trade coalition of 1759 gave way to an Upper Creek "peace coalition" that provided a diplomatic template for the postwar Native South. Mortar of Okchai spearheaded this coalition, crafting a cosmopolitan vision, a kind of "Pax Muskogeana," for the Native South.[101] Rather than Tuckabatchee, the coalition was based in Emistisiguo's Tallapoosa town of Little Tallassee. Moreover, as I show below, Mortar's Bear clan association framed the coalition with kinship-rich language, indicating that he cultivated his authority by appealing to his clan ties, but that his own Bear people may have given him the greenlight to make peace with the British. In turn, British authorities supported the coalition because they understood that British expansion and trading policy depended on stable relations with indigenous Southerners.

In May 1763, Mortar and Gun Merchant issued a message to the new Southern Indian Superintendent, John Stuart, and Georgia Governor James Wright. This message became the ideological basis of Mortar's vision. Speaking for his brother-in-law, Mortar admitted that the "red People" had relied on Europeans trade, but that dependence on trade did not preclude Creeks' sovereign right to freely exchange land with Europeans. Mortar was incredulous that the "white People have forgot [*sic*] or think" that the Creeks "have no Lands belonging to them." He had heard that the British "are going to take all" Creek lands, such as Mobile and Pensacola, "surprized [at] how People can give away

[100] Piker, *Okfuskee*, 66, makes a similar point about the Okfuskees.

[101] For Native cosmopolitans in the nineteenth-century, see James Taylor Carson, *Searching for the Bright Path: The Mississippi Choctaws from Prehistory to Removal* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 88.

Land that does not belong to them." Yet, for Mortar, the Paris Peace offered an opportunity to start over, to restore peace and honesty between the British and the Creeks. Although he believed that the "white People's Physic" was "strong for War," he admitted that Creek warriors, too, "have strong Physic," implying that each side ought to adopt a peaceful stance towards the other.[102] Mortar closed the talk by defending Creek land on whose foodstuffs and powers Creek families depended. The Creeks "love" their "Lands a great deal," for "the Wood is our Fire, and the Grass is our Bed, and our Physic when we are sick." As a British translator wrote for Mortar, "That he and his Family are Masters of all the Land, and they own [i.e., recognize] no Masters but the Master of their Breath; but he thinks the White People intend to stop all their Breaths by their settling all round them." Mortar balanced his hope for postwar stability with the sharp recognition that the Paris Peace was opening the floodgate of British settlement.[103]

Superintendent Stuart ignored Mortar's eloquent defense of land. In November 1763, Stuart met some seven hundred Southern Indians at the Augusta "Congress" (a term for meetings used by the British) in Georgia. He hoped to gain their formal consent to Britain's acquisition of the South, and on the 9th, Indians touched pen to the Treaty of Augusta. In the articles that applied to Creek country, Creek headmen ceded to Georgia land between the Savannah and Ogeechee Rivers. As one scholar argues, Lower Creek headmen, led by Captain Aleck of Cussita, were the principal signers. Although Wolf of Muccolossus signed, Upper Creek leaders protested this treaty, for neither Mortar nor

[102] Mortar and Gun Merchant to Wright [and Stuart], 5/8/1763, in GT, ed. Juricek, 352. The first sentence of the talk reads, "The Mortar spoke as follows."

[103] Mortar and Gun Merchant to Wright, 5/8/1763, in GT, ed. Juricek, 352.

Gun Merchant joined the delegation of Creeks. Handsome Fellow of Okfuskee, another influential Upper Creek headman, also abstained.[104]

In the following months, the Upper Creek peace coalition took shape as a response to Georgia's growing influence in the South. In April 1764, Upper Creek headmen assembled in Little Tallassee; most like Mortar belonged to Abeika towns, although several, such as Emistisiguo, inhabited the Tallapoosa province. Some like Topalga were Alabamas. Coalition leaders, Mortar and Emistisiguo, each addressed a message to Superintendent Stuart and Governor Wright, agreeing to Britain's recent request for the establishment of a boundary line between British West Florida and the Creek hunting grounds that resided near there. Despite Mortar's earlier protest, he and Emistisiguo also consented to Britain's takeover of Pensacola and Mobile. Emistisiguo spoke for the "Upper [Abeika?] and Tallipussie Creeks," while Mortar represented the Upper Creek head warriors. Because he may have taken part in the murder of two Cherokees a year earlier, Mortar claimed that "My head Warriours" of the Upper Creeks "are now taking pains to put things on a good footing." By 1764, then, Mortar preferred peace over war, a vision that applied to all Southern Indians. Mortar indicated that "our

[104] Editor's note, in GT, ed. Juricek, 295; editor's note, in *Georgia and Florida Treaties, 1763-1776*, ed. John T. Juricek, in vol. 12 of *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789*, ed. Alden T. Vaughan (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 2002), 361 (hereafter GFT). For treaty terms and Upper Creek headmen, see Hahn, *Invention*, 266-269. For attendance of seven hundred and Captain Aleck, see "Minutes of the Southern Congress at Augusta, Georgia," 11/5/1763 and 11/8/1763, in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, vol. 11, document #86, http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr11-0084 (accessed 29 August 2013).

Talks" would be conveyed to "the [Chickasaws] and Chactaws."[105] The peace coalition was beginning to find its way.

In late July, three months later, coalition leaders explicitly called for peace across the entire region. In a message sent to Stuart from Little Tallassee, Upper Creek headmen pledged their commitment to diplomacy. Gun Merchant said that "it's the Talk of the Upper Creeks in General" to promote good relations with the British. For his part, Mortar invoked the symbols of war and peace, saying that he "has buried all Red [war] Talks, has and desires none but white [peace] Talks." Mortar coordinated communication around the region, receiving "Talks from All Nations of Indians," and he was "now sending a good talk to the Chickesaws." He repeated the point that he "desires Peace with All." By encouraging peace with Britain, among other peoples, Mortar did not imply that the British were welcome to settle among the Indians. With an eye towards the future, Mortar discouraged Stuart from building a fort or establishing any British settlements west of the Alabama River. Doing so "will certainly Occasion disturbances between the English and their Nation," Mortar warned. His promotion of regional peace was backed by Emistisiguo, who said that Mortar "has given his promise through the whole Nation that a firm Peace shall be maintained" between the Creeks and British.[106]

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[105] Upper Creeks to Stuart and Wright, 4/10/1764, "little Talesseys," in GFT, ed. Juricek, 212-214, 537n65. Mortar referred to "the breed," or the Upper Creek town of Breed Camp, where transplanted Chickasaws lived (214). For his possible involvement in Creek-on-Cherokee violence in September 1763, see Hahn, *Invention*, 266.

[106] That "firm Peace" had an expiration date of four years. In 1768, as headmen implied, peace would expire whereupon the Creeks and British would reconvene to reevaluate the alliance. The Creeks obviously distrusted the British. For message, see Upper Creeks to Stuart, 7/22/1764, Little Tallassee, in GFT, ed. Juricek, 217-219 (p?). Emistisiguo told Stuart that "without his

Hoping to confer with the Upper Creeks, Stuart invited them to Pensacola in 1765. In late May, Mortar, Emistisiguo, Topalga, and other Upper Creek headmen arrived for the Pensacola Congress. Although Mortar rarely met Europeans face-to-face, postwar circumstances forced Mortar to directly engage the British victors.[107] Specifically, Mortar took the opportunity to announce his status as a peace-keeping headman, rather than a fearsome head warrior. On May 27, he addressed a crowd of Creeks and Britons with a "Belt of Whampum" in hand. He stated that the land around Pensacola belonged to the "Red people" in whose name he presented eagle wings as "Emblems of Peace." After calling Emistisiguo "my Head Warrior," Mortar asserted that he himself had rejected warfare as a solution to the Indians' problems: "henceforward you shall hear of no Act of mine, which does not tend to promote friendship and Harmony." Both he and his warriors threw in the towel. "My warriors," he said, "are Striped [*sic*] of their Warlike Implements which are now all buried in Oblivion." He was confident that "White [peace] Talks daily Increase in the [Creek] Nation."[108]

A regard for clan and town shaped Mortar's transition from head warrior to peace leader. As he declared, "I am the Voice of my People who are all to abide by what I say

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[Mortar's] assent," Emistisiguo was unable to discuss Anglo-Creek trade relations (p?). He also believed "the Mortar has none but good Talks" (p?)

[107] In early 1765, Stuart requested Deputy Superintendent Monsieur de Monberaut, a French official and former commander of Fort Toulouse, to secure Mortar's consent to meet the Superintendent. In turn, Monberaut enlisted Topalga, a head warrior of Coosada, who in turn persuaded Mortar to attend in May. See *The Mémoire Justificatif of the Chevalier Montault de Monberaut*, eds. Milo B. Howard, Jr. and Robert R. Rea (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1965), 132, 156-59. For Topalga, see Upper Creeks to Stuart and Wright, 4/10/1764, "little Talesseys," in GFT, ed. Juricek, 212 (Topalga was also known as "Molten"). For Mortar's aloofness, see Hahn, *Invention*, 252-253.

[108] Pensacola Congress Minutes, 5/27/1765, in GFT, ed. Juricek, 257, 262-263. The three named Upper Creek leaders were "The Mortar," "Emistisiguo," and "Tapulga" (257).

and do." Although it is difficult to know, by "my People," Mortar most likely claimed to speak primarily for his clan (Bear) and town (Okchai). Yet it was those community affiliations that made him a trusted international peace leader. He represented not only town and kinship interests but also those of all Creeks and of the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, with whom he frequently communicated. As a voice of the Southern Indians, he was "determined that the Path shall not only be made white and streight here [Pensacola] but *every where*" (my emphasis), one that linked all Southern peoples in a circuitry of peace and friendship. To be sure, he privileged Creek interests, revealing that "I am a King and made such, in order to preserve Peace and good order in my [Creek] Nation." By taking a peace title ("King"), he discarded his war title, "Yahahtustunnogy"[109] (Wolf Warrior). He indicated, however, that his vision encompassed Creeks, other Indians, and non-Indians, for he "now look[ed] upon the Surrounding White Nations as all United and Children of the same Family." Using the language of kinship, he adopted his former British enemies as "Elder Brothers" and allies. He promised to keep "my Young People" on the white path in exchange for Britain's agreement to do the same.[110] If the British did so, he promised to recite these peaceful talks whenever "I go through Different [Indian] Nations."[111]

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[109] For Mortar's war title ("Yahahtustunnogy"), see Document No. 10, 9/28/1759, p. 1, in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP. For a similar spelling ("Yahahtustunnoky"), see Document No. 17, 11/10/1759, Okchai (?),in Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, box 13, WHLP.

[110] Pensacola Congress, 5/27/1765, in GFT, ed. Juricek, 262-263. For his Bear clan affiliation, see Pensacola Congress, 5/30/1765, in GFT, ed. Juricek, 272.

[111] Pensacola Congress, 5/28/1765, in GFT, ed. Juricek, 264-265. Mortar was clearly skeptical of Stuart. On May 30, Mortar explained that he would soon parlay with the Cherokees in order to assess whether "your Talks are the same there that they are here." If they were, he would be convinced that "a perpetual Peace and friendship is Settled with you"; see Pensacola Congress, 5/30/1765, in GFT, ed. Juricek, 272.

Mortar's Pax Muskogeana was innovative. By pledging peace with Stuart and the "White Nations," Mortar abandoned his militant stance against the British. Accompanying this departure was a ritual passage from warrior to peace-keeper, who deployed eagle wings and a wampum belt instead of the gun and war club. Having had command over Upper Creek head warriors, by 1765 he encouraged them to swap war for peace.[112] The Pax Muskogeana also broke from the past. During the pre-1763 play-off era, Creek headmen avoided becoming dependent on one ally. Although the Creeks tended to prefer British trade goods, many Creek headmen curried favor with the French and British. Allying with a single power was unnecessary and dangerous. By 1765, however, new geopolitical realities called for new solutions. In an expansive, international, and cosmopolitan vision, Mortar attempted to join all Creeks and other Southern Indians to a single European power.[113]

Despite its newness, the Pax Muskogeana planted deep roots in clan custom. For one, during the conference's closing ceremonies on May 30, Mortar declared, "I am a King of the Ancient Bear family." As a Bear, Mortar belonged to the Muskogee-speaking clan moiety known as the *Hathagalgi* ("white people"). Those of the *Hathagalgi* commanded influence in Creek society, and the Bear clan was especially weighty, as this and three other clans bore responsibility for promoting peace in Creek country.[114] Mortar invoked his Bears to couch the Pensacola Congress in the tradition of

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[112] See Upper Creeks to Stuart and Wright, 4/10/1764, in GFT, ed. Juricek, 212-214.

[113] For neutrality policy, see Hahn, *Invention*, 110-120.

[114] For clan moieties, see Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 236. For the Bear clan, see Swanton, *Social Organization*, 110-113, (113, for peace responsibility), 145, 149, 154, 164 (for Bear as "almost always White"). The "Bear" refers to the grizzly bear or "Whooping Bear"

kinship politics, allowing him to draw support from Bears and other non-Bear Creeks. Mortar explained that just as Stuart must report to the "different Governors" of the South, so "it is necessary for me to return to my Nation, in order to speak to my people whom I have left behind." In order to implement such a grand vision, his family of Bears, the Okchais, and other Creeks required him to acknowledge their interests, to check in with him from time-to-time.[115] Although I have located no records to show when he actually did so, it is safe to take him at his word, considering that the consensual nature of Creek politics demanded that headmen fairely represent the family or town community. Mortar had been in hot water before, so he was especially sensitive to the requirements of consensual leadership. For instance, during the late war, Mortar's Creek-Cherokee-French coalition raised a "Clamour" among the Okchais, particularly among the "Women of that Town" and probably among his family, who feared that his coalition might harm kin and town interests by inadvertenly provoking a British invasion of Creek country.[116] As a traditional leader armed with an innovative vision, Mortar looked to protect the Creeks.

Mortar captures the changes and continuities of the postwar Native South, where Creeks built new coalitions from the stuff of tradition. Although the Paris Peace narrowed Indians' political opportunities, territory, and trading arrangements, the core

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(110). As one informant told Swanton in the early 1900s, "'The Wolf clan is kindred to the Bear clan, but without the political prestige of the latter'" (113). For Wolfs and Bears, see p. 145.

[115] He reiterated, "I am about to return to my Nation where I will call my People together" in order to inform them that Stuart desired to meet the "Head Men of the Nation" in St. Augustine at some future date; see Pensacola Congress Minutes, 5/30/1765, in GFT, ed. Juricek, 272.

[116] Edmond Atkin to Lyttelton, 11/30/1759, Okfuskee, pp. 3-5, box 13, WHLP.

values of clan and town endured as explicit features of diplomacy, power, and coalition-building. Clan and town identities shaped alliances across Creek towns, between Creek towns and other Southern Indian towns, and between the Creeks and British. In this vein, Mortar's articulation of foreign policy resulted from the Upper Creek peace coalition, considering that Emistisiguo, Topalga, and Abeika headmen all discussed how to deal with the British in 1764 and 1765. Mortar was certainly the primary voice of the Pax Muskogeana, but he was no lone wolf. The basis of chiefly power in Creek society continued to rest on established clan and town customs, which simultaneously breathed new life into diplomacy. Fundamentally, chiefly power rested on one's accomplishments earned on behalf of one's clan and town. Although British patronage provided Mortar with an "outside" source of power, the "inside" sources of his power were rooted in clan and town affiliation, which legitimized his vision and the coalition that strove to implement it.[117]

Meanwhile, the Creeks' neighbors to the north took a different tack in the Paris Peace aftermath. After 1763, Indians in the Ohio and Great Lakes watershed formed what scholars call the "Western Indian Confederacy." The Delaware prophet Neolin, the Ottawa warrior Pontiac, and other Algonquian-speaking headmen called on Indians to resist British expansion. Unlike the French, the British occupied the Upper Country (*pays d'en haut*) as aggressive invaders and ignored established traditions of Native gift-giving that French diplomats had obeyed. Invoking the powers of a pan-Indian "Great Spirit," Neolin urged the Indians to end their dependence on trade goods, restore the

[117] For the "outside" and "inside" dichotomy, see Carson, *Searching for the Bright Path*, 88; Hahn, *Invention*, 252, sees Mortar as a cultural fundamentalist who was "too Indian."

French to the region, and protect Indian lands from British incursion.[118] Pontiac led the militant edge of the Western Confederacy, which waged war on several British forts in a conflict known as "Pontiac's Rebellion" from 1763 to 1765. Pontiac harnessed violence as a way to preserve Indian autonomy and roll back British expansion. The contrast between the militant Western Confederacy and peace-promoting Creeks in the mid-1760s reveals that Indians in eastern North America dealt with the British on very different terms.[119]

In the era of the Seven Years' War, the Creeks adapted to British expansion primarily by engineering cross-town networks. Motivated by a desire to maintain peace and trade with the British, Lower and Upper Creek headmen parleyed with each other and constructed cross-community ties. The Lower and Upper Creeks' efforts to conclude the Creek-Cherokee War in 1753 and 1754 ignited this flurry of coalition-building activity for the remaining decade and beyond the Paris Peace settlement. Individual towns serviced some of the coalitions. In 1759, for instance, Tuckabatchee became the political capital of the Upper Creeks who, although partially divided by the Anglo-

[118] The French actively courted numerous Indian nations in the Midwest after 1763, however. The Shawnees were key go-betweens. See, for example, George Croghan to Thomas Gage, Fort Pitt, 6/17/1766, in folder 1, no. 2, George Croghan, Letters, 1763-1770, Ayer MS 195, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

[119] For Western Confederacy scholarship, see Gregory Evans Dowd, *War Under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*; Hahn, *Invention*, 274; Alfred A. Cave, *Prophets of the Great Spirit: Native American Revitalization Movements in Eastern North America* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006). Cave asserts that the Native prophets of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were "revolutionaries" who along with their followers indigenized particular aspects of European American culture. In the 1700s, for example, prophets created a "Great Spirit, an "omnipotent, omnipresent creator and ruler of the universe," from the materials of the Judeo-Christian God. Still, these Indians were "restorationists" who sought to preserve cherished customs (xiii and 2-3).

Cherokee War and a desire to remain allies of the French and Spanish, erected a formidable coalition that preserved British trade and countered the aggressive tactics of Superintendent Atkin. By the early 1760s, the trade coalition gave way to a peace coalition led by Mortar and Emistisiguo, among others. Mortar crafted an international vision of peace designed to pacify the British and respect local Creek interests.

Bonds of kinship partially generated and solidified many of the coalitions, although in different ways. Wolf of Muccolossus dissuaded his clan from securing vengeance on the British, while Captain Aleck of Cussita stepped in to resolve a crisis between his Yuchi kin and the British. Evidence suggests, for example, that while the law of retaliation required Wolf to carry out vengeance against the British, he substituted the interests of Anglo-Creek diplomacy for obeisance to clan law. Furthermore, clan affinities shaped Mortar's rhetoric and vision for regional unity in the postwar South. As co-leader of the peace coalition with Emistisiguo, Mortar leveraged his influential Bear clan to legitimize his authority and craft diplomacy with Stuart and Wright. The peace coalition of 1764 and 1765 exemplifies the ways in which traditional customs and innovative policies allowed the Creeks to adapt to a new world order, dominated by British influence.

Scholars of the late colonial Native South tend to focus on the connections between a town and an empire at the exclusion of the connections within, between, and among *towns*. Although the Creeks traded with the Spanish, French, and British in order to avoid dependence on one empire, perhaps more importantly the Creeks established coalitions across society that allowed them to maintain access to goods and defend loved

ones from British encroachment. By piecing together these town-based coalitions, it becomes apparent that the Creeks collaborated across communal lines more frequently and, at times, with greater success than scholars have noticed. That the Upper Creek trade coalition of 1759 removed Atkin from a position of power, for instance, cannot be overstated and was a direct result of Creek political cohesion. Headmen appealed to their relationships with and cultural allegiances to a particular clan, town, or province in order to reinforce their legitimacy as community leaders and to make the coalitions tenable. Towns formed the building blocks of the coalitions, with clans binding them together.[120] Creek communities powered a range of political responses to British colonialism in a rapidly changing world. But that world was just about to get more violent.

[120] Green, *Politics*, 21-22; Braund, *Deerskins*, 21-22; Hahn, *Invention*, 110-120. While Piker, *Okfuskee*, 10, for instance, privileges the town in diplomacy, I show that clans via retaliation frequently conditioned the goals of diplomats.

CHAPTER III

THE INSTABILITY OF COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP

In 1766, the Creek-Choctaw War erupted. Dashing Mortar's vision for regional peace, this brutal ten-year conflict originated in the Paris Peace settlement. Before 1763, Britain rarely traded with the Choctaws, who secured most of their goods from the French. Britain's emergence as the sole purveyor of goods in the South after 1763, however, ignited economic friction between the Creeks and Choctaws. Each side's competition for British trade boiled over into all-out war in 1766. In the initial years of conflict, the Upper Creeks defeated the Choctaws repeatedly, but in 1773 and 1774, the Choctaws gained the upper hand. Although British trade helped determine that seesaw, the reason that the war escalated was cultural. A rising death toll activated clan retribution, which fueled endless cycles of attack and counter-attack, leaving perhaps hundreds on both sides dead by the war's conclusion in 1776. Creek-Choctaw rivalry with regard to the British clashed with Southern Indian clan retribution, precipitating one of the deadliest wars in the eighteenth-century Native South.

Two scholars have examined the Creek-Choctaw War in depth. Kathryn E. Holland Braund argues that the accession of the British as the sole supplier of goods in the region caused the Southern Indians to scramble for the best prices and, as a result, prompted the war. Greg O'Brien accepts this position but complements it by arguing that

Choctaw elites initiated the war to reinforce their own position. By 1766, the growth of independent trading between common hunters and British traders had diminished Choctaw elites' power, which in part rested on their exclusive ability to distribute trade goods to their villages, and widened the generational gap between elites and commoners. To recoup their power and authority, Choctaw headmen goaded young warriors to wage a "full-fledged war" on the Creeks. Intertribal war served to redirect warriors' aggression away from the British and towards a Native enemy, thereby preserving trade and allowing warriors to earn war honors by demonstrating their prowess in battle. Likewise, O'Brien identifies evidence proving that a few Creek headmen also spurred their warriors to attack the Choctaws so as to preserve Anglo-Creek trade. In short, O'Brien's argument highlights the indigenous origins of the Creek-Choctaw War and traces it to a desire by elites to control the pace of colonial change.[1]

Several questions have been overlooked in examinations of the Creek-Choctaw War, however. O'Brien's contention that Choctaw and Creek elites redirected the "young" and "aggressive" warriors away from the British does not explain why elites *themselves* became engulfed in the war or why elites simultaneously conducted

[1] Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (1993; repr., Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 133-134 and Chapter 7; Greg O'Brien, "Protecting Trade through War: Choctaw Elites and British Occupation of the Floridas," in *Pre-Removal Choctaw History: Exploring New Paths*, ed. Greg O'Brien (1999; repr., Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008): 103-122, especially 108-113; and O'Brien, *Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age, 1750-1830* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), Chapter 3 and 84-85. Whereas a litany of scholars once argued that British authorities, such as Superintendent John Stuart, incited the Creek-Choctaw War to reinforce imperial interests, O'Brien contends that both Choctaw and Creek elites spurred their warriors to attack one another. John Phillip Reid, *A Law of Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee Nation* (1970; repr., DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2006), 153-161, first noted that retaliation could perpetuate intertribal war.

diplomacy with and waged war on the Choctaws.[2] At least among the Creeks, on whom this chapter focuses, headmen crafted elaborate peace initiatives only to fall prey to clan priorities that dragged them into the conflict and undermined peace. Why did elites inhabit the role of what I call the "warrior-diplomat"? Additionally, we must move away from an exclusively elite focus to consider why Creek warriors fought the Choctaws and, more generally, how towns and clans participated in the war, gaining a rich community perspective on the fighting of a devastating intertribal war.

I address these problems and questions by arguing that the Creek-Choctaw War exposed the instability of community membership. During intertribal warfare, in other words, being a townsperson and clansperson was a liability. Throughout the war, actual communities and headmen's allegiances to their communities fostered peace *and* violence. Each Creek town faced unique crises that called for unique responses, and while some of those responses were peaceful, others were more violent. For instance, Tuckabatchee and Muccolossus reinterpreted spiritual customs to quell the war and cultivate internal solidarity and peace. At the same time, the Seminole town of Cuscowilla, an offshoot of the Lower Creeks, repackaged several military customs to wage war on the Choctaws. Likewise, clans embodied a tension between peace and war. On one hand, the law of retaliation was an important factor that triggered and fueled war with the Choctaws, but on the other, clans guided diplomacy between Creeks and their primary trader partner, the British, as they had done during the French and Indian War.

[2] O'Brien, "Protecting Trade," in *Pre-Removal*, ed. O'Brien, 108 ("aggressive"), 109 ("young").

If towns and clans each contained the possibility for diplomacy and violence, the merging of town and clan identities exacerbated the Creek-Choctaw War. To be sure, much like during the French and Indian War, headmen forged coalitions from clans and towns, both of which became the building blocks of international peace. At the same time, the law of retaliation fueled violence by obligating Creek headmen to launch revenge raids against the Choctaws.[3] In fact, many Creek headmen like Mortar of Okchai and Emistisiguo of Little Tallassee became "warrior-diplomats." Such headmen served their towns and provinces as diplomats but obeyed the dictates of retributive justice. As members of a town and a clan, those headmen could not escape the tug-of-war between their attachements to each, a tension that perpetuated the Creek-Choctaw War.

My research sheds new light on indigenous culture change in the pre-revolutionary Native South. Ethnohistorians have argued that Creek dependence on trade goods compelled the Creeks to cede land in five of six Anglo-Creek conferences from 1763 to 1773. But I suggest that in addition to dependence, the Creek-Choctaw War accounted for those land cessions.[4] For the duration of the war, Creek society faced the threat and reality of Choctaw raids, prompting Creeks to turn inward by worrying about protecting their kin and towns. As a result, the climate of war weakened the Creeks' response to British colonialism. As the borders of the Creek domain dwindled, Creeks strove to reduce violence. Towns danced and sang for sacred powers, revived old

[3] For estimates of casualties, see O'Brien, *Choctaws*, 27.

[4] For the argument that dependence attenuated Creek autonomy, see Michael D. Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 30-31; Braund, *Deerskins*, 139-153; Steven C. Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).

traditions to meet new circumstances, and mourned loved ones through ritual.[5] Because the Creek-Choctaw War embroiled clans and towns in violence, moreover, Creek had no need to participate in the Western Indian Confederacy, which resisted British expansion after 1763. While Shawnees and Miamis "acted in a world beyond the locality," as one scholar notes, the Creeks promoted town and kinship interests.[6] The "locality" took precedence in Creek society. Indeed, Creek headmen tapped into the Confederacy's lines of communication *to* cultivate peace with the Choctaws. The Creeks had little to gain and everything to lose by attacking the British.[7]

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[5] Historians of the Native South have largely overlooked the role of communities' concerns in diplomacy and warfare, although Kathryn Braund briefly notes that Creek women were "a potent political force, especially in matters of war and peace and clan retribution." See *Deerskins*, 23. I agree with Joshua Piker that Creeks maintained political and cultural autonomy from the Paris Peace to the American Revolution. As he puts it, they "still had some cards to play." See Joshua Piker, *Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), quote on p. 66. In *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), Steven Hahn contends that Creek diplomats responded to British requests for land by forging a "nation" with clearly-defined borders that Creeks defended in treaty conferences. He points out that clan and town affiliation underwrote the authority of leadership and diplomatic practices.

[6] Scholars fail to explain why the Southern Indians, at least the Creeks, did *not* participate in the activities of the Western Confederacy. Gregory Evans Dowd is the foremost authority on the Confederacy. See Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), xiii ("locality"), xxi-xxii, 16-22, 35-40; and Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indians Nations, and the British Empire* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002). *War under Heaven* makes the important point that Pontiac's Rebellion attempted to force the British into recognizing Indian people as British subjects, who must be respected, rather than as subordinate vassals. For more on the Western Confederacy, see Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 366-468; and Woody Holton, "The Ohio Indians and the Coming of the American Revolution in Virginia," *Journal of Southern History*, 60:3 (August 1994): 453-478.

[7] The colonial Native American scholarship is moving away from analyses of Native resistance and anti-colonialism, which serve to obscure rather than explain the intricacies of Native culture change and decision-making processes. In *Okfuskee*, 52-63, for instance, Piker demonstrates that the Okfuskee uprising of May 1760 was not an anti-colonial resistance movement but, from the Okfuskees' perspective, an intraclan conflict between the town and the British.

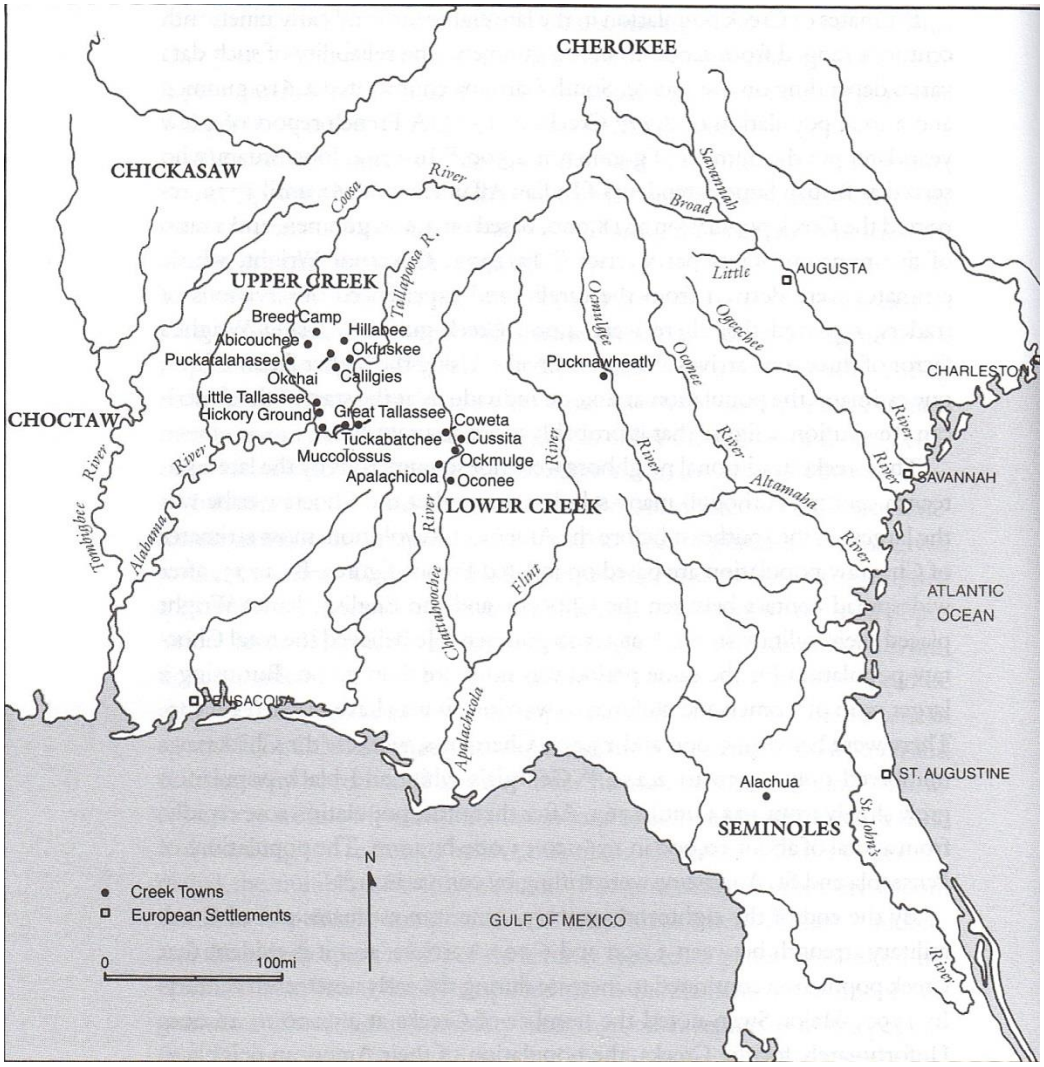

Figure 6. Eighteenth-Century Creeks and Choctaws. The Choctaws lived west of the Creeks in three principal divisions: the Western, Eastern, and Six Towns. *Source*: Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (1993; repr., Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008) p. 10.

Table 3. Creek Coalitions during the Creek-Choctaw War. For clarity's sake, only the major provinces, towns, and headmen are listed.

Coalitions	Major participating provinces, towns, and headmen	Participating clans	Participating non-Creeks
- Three intra-town coalitions, 1772-1775	- Tallapoosa: Tuckabatchee - Abeika: Muccolossus - Seminole: Cuscowilla		
- Coalition promoting diplomacy with Choctaws, 1770-1773	- Tallapoosa: Emistisiguo of Little Tallassee - Abeika: Mortar of Okchai and Handsome Fellow of Okfuskee	- Tigers - Bears	- Intermediaries: Shawnees, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Charles Stuart - Congeetoo town: Creeks' contact among Choctaws
- Coalition of 1774-1775, arising from New Purchase crisis	- Tallapoosa: Emistisiguo and Second Man of Little Tallassee - Abeika: Mad Turkey, Handsome Fellow, and Cujesse Mico of Okfuskee - Lower Creek: Cussita	- Tigers	

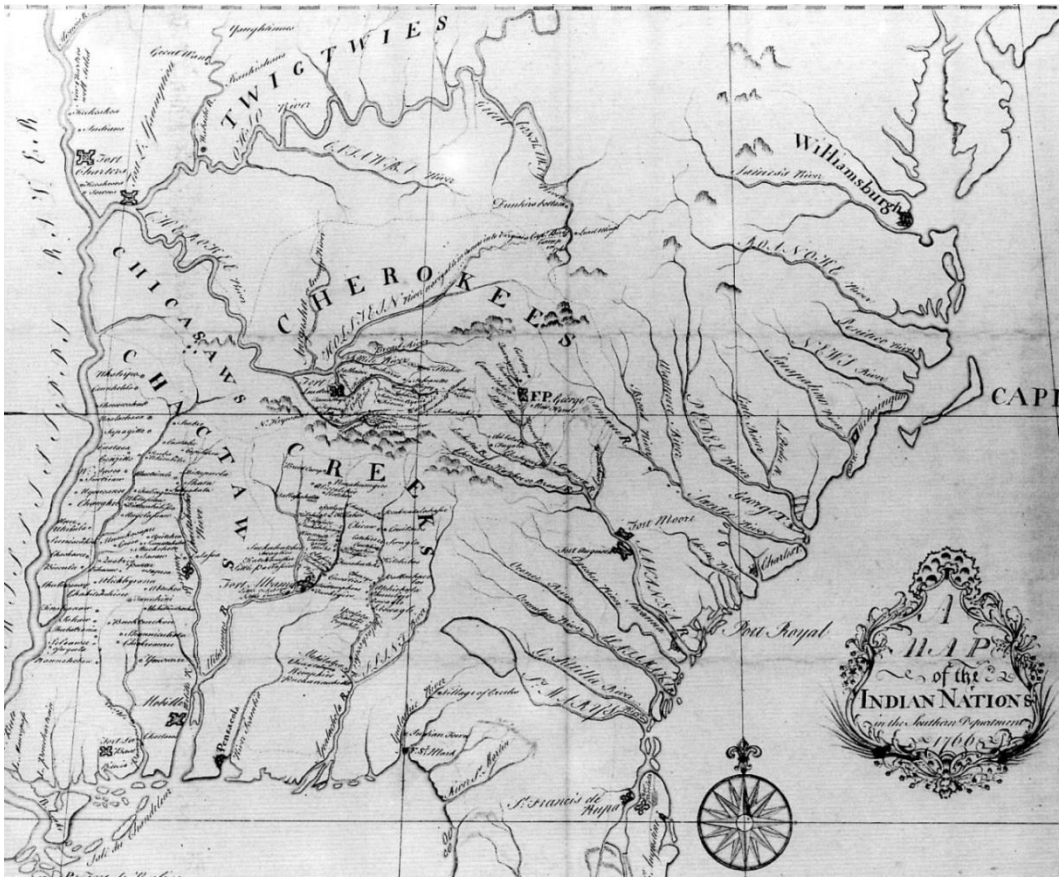

Figure 7. John Stuart or William Gerard De Brahm, "A Map of the Indian Nations in the Southern Department 1766." The Native South was an intricate riverine world where Native and Euro-American communities jockeyed for influence. In the forests and valleys of this region, Southern Indians as well as Euro-Americans hunted fur-bearing animals. Ranging far and wide for deerskins, Indian hunters ignored the boundaries (depicted by the dotted lines) separating the hunting grounds and in part fueled such conflicts as the Creek-Choctaw War (1766-1776). *Size* [of original map]: $22^{1/2} \times 18$. *Scale* [of original map]: 1″ = ca. 48 miles. *Source*: John Stuart/William Gerard De Brahm (?), *A Map of the Indian Nations in the Southern Department 1766*, in William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, ed. and rev. Louis de Vorsey, Jr. (1958; repr., Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 297 and Plate 61.

The Creek-Choctaw War claimed the lives of hundreds of Creeks and Choctaws.[8] While access to trade and hunting grounds initially sparked the war, clan vengeance was a large factor in the continuation of the war, as it tended to generate cycles of attack and counter-attack between Creek and Choctaw towns. To pursue vengeance on behalf of their clan, warriors presumably fought alongside members of their clan. Warriors demonstrated prowess, courage, and bravery in battle by taking one or a few enemy scalps, by capturing war booty, such as weapons or trade goods, and by safely returning home. At home, successful warriors earned new ranked war titles, merited an increased social status among the townspeople, and showcased the scalps and war booty. War leaders who led their men in battle and home to safety with very little loss of life had successfully mastered the proper spiritual powers over life and death. Women, too, participated in warfare, especially when they urged the able-bodied men of the family to attack the enemy.[9] As well, women and children were attacked and sometimes killed during town raids, as when the Tuckabatchees captured the niece of a Choctaw headman named Mingo Houma Chito.[10]

Violence erupted between the Creeks and Choctaws as early as 1763, although each side was not officially at war until 1766. A recurring cycle of raid and counter-raid

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[8] O'Brien, *Choctaws*, 27.

[9] For a discussion of warfare, social honor, and male power, see Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), 239-257; O'Brien, *Choctaws*, 27-49; and Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 133-134, 248n58. Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 251, suggested that "after just one or a few losses" a war party began to retreat, lest the war leader lose too many men and suffer military demotion.

[10] Charles Stuart to John Stuart, 6/12/1770, Pensacola, enclosed in Stuart's dispatch "No. 25," 7/16/1770, *Records of the British Colonial Office, Class 5 Files: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783, The Board of Trade, The French and Indian War*, ed. Randolph Boehm (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1983), vol. 75 (hereafter cited as CO5/vol. number).

suggests that the law of retaliation fueled the violence. Sometime between July and October 1763, the Creeks killed at least three Choctaws.[11] Although we do not know if the Choctaws immediately responded with their own attack, Elias Legardere, who served as commissary to the Choctaws, wrote to a fellow official in 1765 that the Choctaws killed at least one Creek. By March 1766, the Creeks had killed a Choctaw hunter near Fort Tombecbé, perhaps in response to the previous Creek's death.[12] Conflict persisted into the summer of 1766, by which time several Creek and Choctaw warriors lay dead. In August, a Choctaw war captain named "Hulachta Upai" complained to the British that by supplying ammunition to the Creeks, the British intentionally spurred endless retaliation.[13] By September, the Creeks had declared war on the Choctaws, whom they sent some black wings as tokens of death.[14] In the winter of 1766-1767, Creeks killed

[11] John Stuart to Thomas Boone, 10/15/1763, Fort Augusta, in "Minutes of the Southern Congress at Augusta, Georgia," in *The Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. 11, Documenting the American South, University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr11-0084 (accessed 8/29/13) (hereafter, cited as *CSRNC*); and James Colbert, entry 8/3/1763, Copy of Colbert's Journal, enclosed in Stuart to Boone, Arthur Dobbs, and Francis Fauquier, 10/23/1763, Fort Augusta, in "Minutes," *CSRNC*. For more on Colbert, see Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 221.

[12] Elias Legardere to George Johnstone, 3/27/1766, Fort Tombeckbe, in British Museum, Additional Manuscripts #21671, Part 1, Library of Congress, Washington, DC (hereafter cited as BMAM). The Choctaws in this example came from Tombeckbe village. I thank Greg O'Brien for providing me with his research notes on the BMAM documents. Legardere was the British commissary for the Choctaws; see James Adair, *The History of the American Indians*, ed. Kathryn E. Holland Braund (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 529n337.

[13] For Hulachta, see Ja[mes] Hendrie (a French interpreter), interpreting for R. Roi [?], to Brigadier Taylor, 8/29/1766, Mobile, BMAM, #21671, Part 1. Two English traders named Goodwin and Davis were also killed around this time.

[14] Brigadier Taylor to General Thomas Gage, 9/18/1766, Pensacola, BMAM, #21671, Part 2.

two Choctaws near "Seanapa," prompting a Choctaw warrior named Poussah Homa to slay two Creeks whose scalps and ears he cut off to demonstrate his martial prowess.[15]

The theater of war centered on the Escambia, Alabama, and Tombigbee River valleys (Figures 6 and 7). In this deadly no-man's-land, Creek and Choctaw warriors battled in forests, along streams, and in open fields.[16] The Tensaw delta ("Tinsac"), for instance, became a battleground. In September 1766, Frenchmen employed by the British met the Alabama Creeks at Tinsac. While there, the French spotted a large butcher's knife, a swan's wing, a pair of breeches, and an unscalped Creek body. Nearby, it seems, they met some Creeks who reported that the Choctaws had attacked and killed two members of their party. These Creeks, who had several extra blankets with them, lived in the Tallapoosa town of Hoithlewaulee ("Cheowalli").[17] Places like Tinsac bore the violent imprint of Creek-Choctaw hostilities.

Compromise was elusive and escalation was inevitable. In May 1766, a British official Stephen Forrester reported that up to that point, the Choctaws had lost more than twenty men. In response, they issued "a challenge" to Emistisiguo, war leader of Little Tallassee, daring the Creeks to "Fight them in Plains & not behind Trees like Cowards." As Forrester learned from a Choctaw, the Choctaws pledged to send "100 men to lye

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[15] For Poussah Homa, Lieutenant John Ritchey to Brigadier Taylor, 1/2/1767, Tombeckbe, BMAM, #21671, Part 3. Sometime in 1766, Tallapoosa warriors killed an undetermined number of Choctaws; see Legardere to Charles Stuart, 3/4/1767, Fort Tombeckbe, BMAM, #21671, Part 4.

[16] *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians*, eds. Gregory A. Waselkov and Kathryn E. Holland Braund (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 249-250n76. Indian hunters avoided this war-torn environment, which consequently led to the rapid regeneration of the deer population.

[17] "Ja. Hendrie," interpreter for "R. Roi," to Brigadier Taylor, 9/22/1766, Mobile, BMAM, #21671, Part 2.

between Pensacola & the upper Creeks to kill all they can find." Choctaws of the Western and Eastern Divisions threatened to send their warriors against Muccolossus ("Wolf Kings Town") and another one hundred against Pucantallahassee ("Paucana Talakasa"), probably because each town was responsible for the deaths of numerous Choctaws. To protect their women and children, the Choctaws informed Emistisiguo that they would station five hundred warriors in Choctaw society.[18] By 1767, Creek and Choctaw countries dug in for war, each anxiously awaiting attack from the other. According to one report, there was a "perpetual apprehension on both sides."[19]

In the Native South, warfare followed a cultural logic. Warriors organized into small war parties that tried to inflict maximum damage on the enemy and sustain minimal casualties. Military tactics included brief skirmishes in forests and open fields, strategic invasions of towns, captive-taking, and ritual torture. Torture was used to terrify the enemy.[20] In the winter of 1767-1768, for example, a Creek war party attacked the Choctaws whose "Principal Leader" was "wounded . . . and . . . taken prisoner." Perhaps egged on by the women, the captors "Fles'd him alive, and Tortured him most inhumanly." The fleshing and death of the Choctaw leader "excited [such] a Spirit of Revenge" that the Choctaws avenged his death by invading Upper Creek country in

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[18] Stephen Forrester to Governor Johnstone, 5/25/1766, "Chester-ca-lusfa," BMAM, #21671, Part 1. For the Choctaw divisions, see O'Brien, *Choctaws*, 35-36, 135n45.

[19] Taylor to Thomas Gage, 3/4/1767, BMAM, #21671, Part 4. During the war, a group of Alabamas fled to the British settlement of Manchac on the east side of the Mississippi (Braund, *Deerskins*, 135). In 1766, six Okchais ("Oakchawes") killed and scalped a Chickasaw leader within fifty miles of Chickasaw country. The Chickasaw national council planned to seek revenge that fall. See James Adair to Johnstone, 9/16/1766, "Senechasa[?]," BMAM, #21671, Part 2.

[20] Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 239. Terrorizing an enemy and avenging a loved one's death often blurred together.

1768.[21] This invasion was devastating. According to Mortar of Okchai, the Choctaws had amassed a formidable "Army" that "killed and destroyed some of our People and Towns." At some point in the winter of 1768-1769, Mortar "got revenge" and his "Heart [was] wiped clean."[22]

Creek men participated in the Creek-Choctaw War as affiliates of a clan. When the Choctaws killed a Creek, clan law dictated that the men of the deceased's clan avenge their kinsman's death, and women exhorted warriors of the clan to avenge the loss by going to war. Because hundreds of Creeks died during the war, Creek warriors frequently launched raids into Choctaw country in the attempt to avenge a clansman's death. As a result, each side was locked into a recurring cycle of violence. For the most part, scholars have not considered the full impact of clan identity on inter-Indian warfare. What did it mean to be a Bear, a Tiger, an Eagle, or a Wind clan member during such a brutal war?[23]

Warriors far from home explicitly promoted their clan identity as a marker of pride, to humiliate the enemy, and perhaps to display their mastery of spiritual powers. In the fall of 1771, Dutch surveyor Bernard Romans surveyed Choctaw lands in West Florida. He was accompanied by a small party of Europeans and Indians. On September

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[21] John Stuart to "Your Lordship's," 12/28/1768, Charles Town, CO5/70, frames166-167.

[22] The attack "made my Heart cross and black," Mortar added. See "Otis Mico" (Mortar) to John Stuart, 5/20/1769, "Creek Nation," in *Georgia and Florida Treaties, 1763-1776*, ed. John T. Juricek, in vol. 12 of *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789*, ed. Alden T. Vaughan (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 2002), 89 (hereafter cited as GFT). Forrester described the 1768 Choctaw invasion in similar language. Forrester learned from the Cowetas that "the Chactaws Sent an Army against the Upper Town which put them all in great Consternation"; see Forrester to Stuart [?], 9/18/1768, enclosure no. 3 in Stuart to "Your Lordship's," 12/28/1768, Charles Town, CO5/70, frames166-167.

[23] For identifiable Creek clans in the eighteenth century, see Braund, *Deerskins*, 11.

30, Romans and his companions crossed a branch of Buckatunna Creek, near the Pascagoula River. Traveling almost twelve miles, they camped at "*Hoopah Ullah*, (i.e.) the noisy owl." There, in Choctaw country, they "saw the hieroglyphick No. 2" (see Figure 8), a Creek pictograph, which was a

> painting in the Creek taste[. It] means, that ten of that nation of the Stag family [Deer clan] came in three canoes into their enemies country, that six of the party near this place, which was at *Oopah Ullah*, a brook so called on the road to the Chactaws, had met two men, and two women with a dog, that they lay in ambush for them, killed them, and that they all went home with the four scalps; the scalp in the stag's foot implies the honour of the action of the whole family [clan].[24]

According to Romans' analysis of the "painting," six Creek warriors killed two men and two women, and then triumphantly returned home with their scalps. The pictograph corroborates Native military practice: a small war party surprises the enemy, attacks with guns, bows and arrows, and war clubs, takes scalps as a symbol of victory, returning home safely.[25]

[24] Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida*, ed. Kathryn E. Holland Braund (1999; repr., Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2014), 268-269. Romans does not indicate whether the dog was killed.

[25] For Creek military practices, see Braund, *Deerskins*, 21, 23-24; for Choctaws', see O'Brien, *Choctaws*, 37-40.

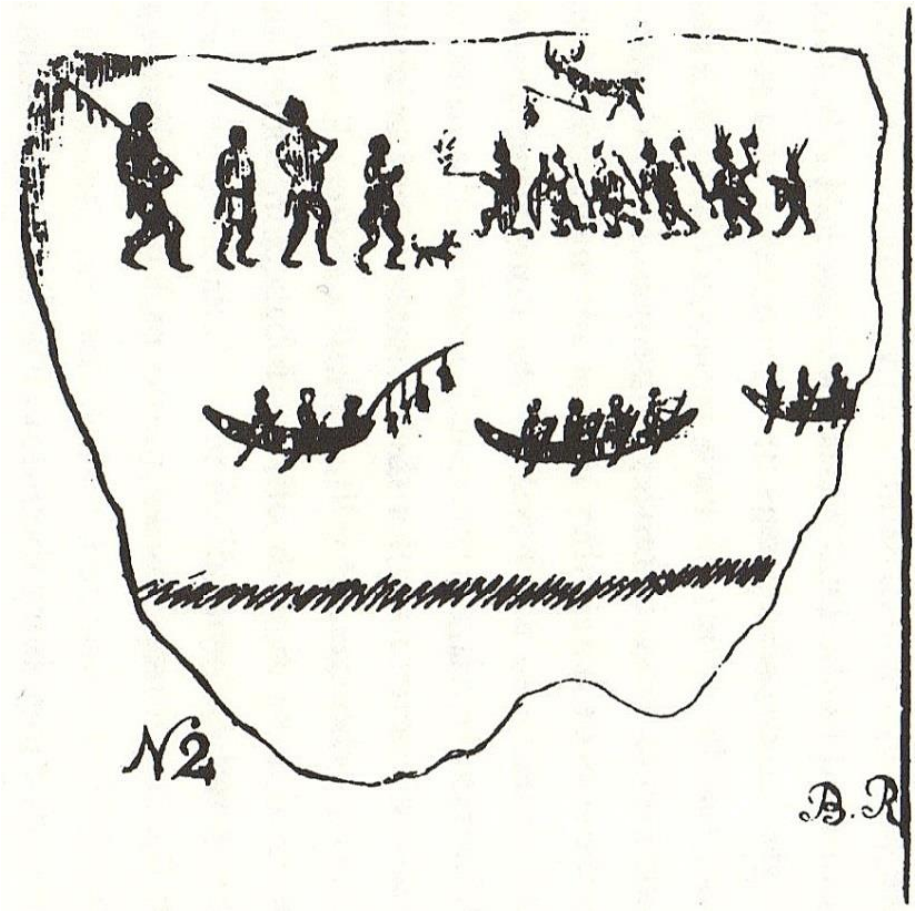

Figure 8. Creek Pictograph, Reproduced on Copperplate by Dutch Traveler Bernard Romans, ca. 1770. This rare Creek "painting," as Romans termed it, was etched into a tree in Choctaw country. A Deer representing the "Stag" clan and clutching a Choctaw scalp is drawn at the top. Below it are Deer clan warriors, led by the head warrior. After the skirmish, the warriors return home in canoes laden with four enemy scalps. *Source*: Image from Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida*, ed. Kathryn E. Holland Braund (1999; repr., Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2014 [1775]), 150.

The Creek artist etched his clan totem and clan's success in battle deep in the heart of Choctaw territory, suggesting that he deliberately promoted the military and spiritual powers of the Deer clan. Collectively, the clan ("whole family"), led by a war leader, is singled out for its bravery and efficacy in war. Symbolizing the Deer (or "Stag") clan is a deer drawn prominently at the top. The deer's hooves clutch a Choctaw scalp to showcase to passing travelers, perhaps to Choctaw enemies, that Deer clan warriors are formidable opponents and ought to be avoided at all costs. By marking the Deer clan on a tree in Choctaw country, moreover, the artist probably hoped to humiliate the defeated Choctaw clan members.[26] (Seventeenth-century Iroquois warriors crafted pictographs into bark for similar purposes.[27])

The Deer clan's success contrasted with the landscape of death. The vicinity of Noisy Owl, where the Creek artist crafted his "painting," was scarred by death. On September 28, just before Romans copied the pictograph into his journal, he "saw the head of a savage stuck on a pole, with many other marks of our being on the theatre of war." At night, the party rested at a "war-camp." On October 1, the day after discovering the pictograph, Romans's party left Noisy Owl and traveled for more than twenty-two miles across "hilly, stony, boggy, swampy and oak land," forging "several rivulets." Along the way, they "passed by three graves within the space of three quarters

[26] Romans, *Concise Natural History*, ed. Braund, 7, 150-151, 407n250. Other components of Creek martial culture emphasized the clan. Creek war titles, for instance, reflected a warrior's clan affiliation. Of the Pumpkin King, who was Ouseechee's mico, John Juricek writes that his war title was "Pahos Hopoya," which means "Turkey Clan Leader"; see editor's note, GFT, 573n57.

[27] Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 36-37.

of a mile from each other." In these graves lay a "soldier," an Indian named "rum-drinker," and a "Mr. Brown," who was a trader to the Choctaws and Chickasaws.[28] Whether these three men had perished in the Creek-Choctaw War is unknown. But, clearly, the ominous graves contrasted with the success of the Deer clan and its ability to vanquish the enemy.[29]

It is unknown whether the Deer warriors were Upper Creeks or Lower Creeks. They could have been the East Florida Seminoles, who participated in this war. The Seminoles were ethnic offshoots of the Hitchiti-speaking Lower Creek towns, such as Oconee, whose townspeople moved into Spanish Florida beginning in the early eighteenth century. There, they established the town of Cuscowilla in the north Florida plains. Like other Creek towns, it had a square ground and communal farmland.[30] By the late 1760s and early 1770s, the Cuscowillas became embroiled in the Creek-Choctaw War. Having maintained communication with Lower Creek kin, they would have been pulled into the war at least as a partial result of clan retaliation. Around August 1770, for instance, the Cuscowillas and Yuchis captured or killed several Choctaws, and there are other examples of coordinated attacks on Choctaws by the Lower Creeks and Seminoles.[31] In 1774, a Cuscowilla headman named Cowkeeper told East Florida

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[28] Romans, *Natural History*, ed. Braund, 269-270. Red war poles were "common" objects of warfare among the Southern Indians (407n255).

[29] For the idea that successful war parties mastered spiritual power, see O'Brien, *Choctaws*, 27, 31-32. For war parties' spiritual practices, see Adair, *History*, ed. Braund, 193-194.

[30] *Bartram*, eds. Waselkov and Braund, 50-54, 223n67, 243n44; Calloway, *American Revolution*, 251. Bartram wrote that Cuscowilla was the "capital of the Alachua tribe" (53). Cowkeeper served the town as "the chief" (50).

[31] Charles Stuart to John Stuart [?], 8/26/1770, enclosed in John Stuart to Gage, 12/13/1770, American Series, vol. 98, in Thomas Gage papers, William L. Clements Library, The

Governor Patrick Tonyn that he was "going away soon again with his people to go against the Chactaws, who they were at War with."[32]

In late July 1774, Quaker naturalist William Bartram wrote of a "very large party" of Cuscowilla warriors "encamped in a grove" outside the walls of a trading post known as Spalding's Lower Store. The Store was located about twenty miles east of Cuscowilla on the St. John's River. To prepare for war against the Choctaws and perhaps to allay their nerves, the war party drank copious amounts of rum. They acquired it by trading some horses they had received in St. Augustine for about twenty kegs of "spirituous liquors" from employees of the Lower Store. During a ten-day "festival," the warriors drank freely with "white and red men and women without distinction." Members of Cuscowilla town and the nearby trading store participated in the festivities. According to Bartram, the drinking produced the "most ludicrous bachanalian scenes." Everyone "passed the day merrily with these jovial, amorous topers [i.e., warriors]." The participants spent "the nights in convivial songs, dances and sacrifices to Venus, as long as they could stand or move." In "these frolicks both sexes take those liberties with each

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University of Michigan. Hereafter, cited as TGP. Charles's letter is confusing. As he wrote, "the Latchaway [Alachua/Cuscowilla] Indians & it is [*sic*?] Supposed some of the Lower Creeks also have joined them [Cuscowillas?], particularly the Uchies have taken the Advantage of the Security the Chactaws thought themselves in & have Attacked them Several Times, since killed Some & carried of Some Prisoners, which has occasioned new Talks by the Chactaws, who look upon the Upper & Lower Creeks as one people & say they only Lule [i.e., lull] them by their peace Talks to kill them the Easier, nor do they Hesitate to Say that we are Conniving with the Creeks to kill them." Charles Stuart to John Stuart (?), 9/27/1770, TGP, clarifies Seminole-Lower Creek ties: Charles wished he could "Send to the Latchaway Indians & Lower Creeks to put a stop to their going out to War against the Chactaws, as I never see them at Mobile and have no Opportunity of Sending, they Committ more depredations upon the Inhabitants, than all the Rest of the Indians do & are extremely insolent."

[32] He and "his people were employed ... in building Canoes to go to War with the Chactaws"; see Conference between Tonyn and Cowkeeper, 3/13/1774, St. Augustine, GFT, 487.

other, and act, without constraint or shame, such scenes as they would abhor when sober or in their senses." As they drank from their bottles, the Seminole men roamed the area around the store, as Bartram mused, "continually, singing, roaring and reeling to and fro, either alone or arm in arm with a brother toper."[33] Bartram's Quaker beliefs caused him to interpret the "festival" as an unabashed drunken bacchanalia. Quakers like him believed that all humans possessed an innate moral sense (an "inner light") guiding them to the truth that God was immanent with nature. Quakers' belief in moral equality meant that through proper behavior and discipline, American Indians could find God in the same way that Euro-Americans could. Although Quakers recognized and tolerated cultural difference, Bartram was horrified to witness bouts of heavy drinking, flirtation, and perhaps a free exchange of sex in the Cuscowilla festival of 1774. His strict moralism led him to dismiss it as little more than an exercise in immorality.[34]

Yet, considering that it unfolded within the context of Creek-Choctaw War, the ten-day festival was an innovative gloss on Native war rituals. Commonly, before war, Southern Indian warriors manipulated spiritual powers to ensure military success by purifying their bodies with an emetic called the button snakeroot and other herbs.[35] Native custom dictated that before battle, warriors isolate themselves from society, especially from the company of women. As child bearers, women possessed life-giving powers. If a warrior came into physical contact with a woman, particularly during her menses or in the act of sex, her power over life negated his ability to take life. In turn,

[33] *Bartram*, eds. Waselkov and Braund, 65-66.
[34] *Bartram*, eds. Waselkov and Braund, 204-205.
[35] Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 243-244, 341.

male-female contact weakened the war party's spiritual powers.[36] The Cuscowilla warriors repackaged these martial customs to serve their own purposes, however. Instead of taking the button snakeroot, they probably imbibed the alcohol during the festival in order to achieve an ecstatic spiritual state and cultivate spiritual power.[37] Likewise, instead of ritually removing themselves from women, the warriors danced, sang, drank, flirted, and apparently had sex with both Indian and British women. The exigencies of war pushed war habits into new directions among the Seminoles.

The festival reinforced the spiritual powers of Long Warrior (or Weoffki), leader of the war party.[38] One example demonstrates his mastery over the cosmos. Before departing for Choctaw country, Long Warrior requested trade goods from Charles McLatchy, manager of Spalding's Lower Store, for the warriors.[39] He promised to pay in deerskins after returning home, but McLatchy denied the request. Disgusted, Long Warrior asked, "Do you presume to refuse me credit; certainly you know who I am and

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[36] Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 320-321; O'Brien, *Choctaws*, 27-49.

[37] Peter C. Mancall, "'The Bewitching Tyranny of Custom': The Social Costs of Indian Drinking in Colonial America," in *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1850*, 2nd ed., ed. Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell (New York: Routledge, 2007), 270-289, here 284.

[38] Whether Long Warrior was a war leader or a mico is difficult to prove. In 1749, Georgia officials wrote that "Long Warrier" was "the Mouth of the whole" party of Lower Creeks who were visiting the colony then (GT, ed. Juricek, 199). Also, Bartram titled his image of the Long Warrior "Mico-chlucco" and later called him the "Chief King of the Siminoles" (*Bartram*, 67, 148). On the other hand, Bartram described Cowkeeper as "the chief" (mico) of the Alachuas (*Bartram*, 50). More confusing, in an 1853 edition of Bartram's "Observations," Long Warrior is called "'the great warrior-chief'" (*Bartram*, 270n20). Since Alachua settlement patterns were in flux in the 1760s and 1770s, Cowkeeper and Long Warrior might have fulfilled the duties of each.

[39] *Bartram*, eds. Waselkov and Braund, 66, 70, 250n77. Bartram wrote that the meeting took place "in the piazza" or square ground "of the council house" in Cuscowilla (66), but that the warriors "returned to their camp," presumably outside of town and near Spalding's Lower Store (70).

what power I have[.] I could command and cause the terrible thunder now rolling in the skies above, to descend upon your head, in rapid fiery shafts, and lay you prostrate at my feet, and consume your stores, turning them instantly into dust and ashes." Although McLatchy publicly refuted Long Warrior's powers, the war leader invoked the alliance between the "white people" and the "Siminole bands," implying that McLatchy shirked his alliance duties. Put on the defensive, McLatchy extended credit to the Cuscowillas for clothing and war paint, which the war party collected before departure days later. Thus, Long Warrior secured goods for his warriors and preserved his reputation as a military and spiritual leader. As Bartram reported, the Indians believed he communed with "powerful invisible beings" and "esteemed [him] worthy of homage and great respect."[40] Although the fate of Long Warrior's war party is unknown,[41] the Cuscowilla warriors probably ventured to Choctaw country believing that Long Warrior's spiritual

[40] *Bartram*, eds. Waselkov and Braund, 66, 69-72, 249n75. It is difficult to corroborate the heated exchange between Long Warrior and McLatchy. Yet Bartram is a reliable source, given that the names and general descriptions in his writings match up with other sources. For Spalding's Lower Store, see anthropologist Kenneth Edmund Lewis, Jr., "The History and Archeology of Spalding's Lower Store (PU-23) Putnam County, Florida" (University of Florida, Master's thesis, 1969). By 1763 James Spalding had founded the Lower Store in East Florida, and by 1765, Spalding had a second store near Lake George. This was the Upper Store (25). He and his partner also had two "smaller stores" near Cuscowilla and Talahasotche. Around 1764, a "Barnet" may have been operating the Cuscowilla store (26). By the mid-1760s, the Alachuas were probably trading quite frequently with Spalding and his agents (26, 27). Finally, Charles McLatchy was "long Spalding's agent at the Lower Store" before becoming an independent merchant in 1776 (29).

[41] Long Warrior's war party probably wintered in Choctaw country with another Cuscowilla leader, Cowkeeper. In the summer of 1775, Jonathan Bryan noted that Cowkeeper was not in his town "last Winter." See Jonathan Bryan to Cowkeeper, 6/15/1775, Brampton, GFT, 490. Thomas Grey, a Georgian, confirmed this. In November 1774, Grey had traveled to "Cowkeeper's Town" with Bryan, who wanted to secure the headman's permission to purchase land from the Seminoles. When Bryan's party arrived at the town, only the "Women and Children" were there. Cowkeeper and "his men were gone to War." See Affidavit of Thomas Grey, 10/4/1775 or 10/10/1775, St. Augustine, GFT, 491, 572n55. Grey deposed to John Forbes about Bryan's schemes to secure Seminole land. Bryan hoped "to erect a Town where large Boasts and Vessels could come" (491).

authority was intact, and that the Cuscowilla festival had guaranteed the warriors' success in battle.

The Cuscowilla festival demonstrates that both clan and town affiliations prolonged the Creek-Choctaw War. That war party was most likely composed of fellow clan members who were obeying the law of retaliation. Despite living more than a hundred miles from the closest Creek towns along the Chattahoochee, the Cuscowillas remained linked into the webs of kinship that spanned Creek and Seminole society, thus obligating them to launch revenge raids against the enemy when necessary.[42] Creeks as well as Seminoles fought their Choctaw opponents within the logic of clan identity. Yet in this particular case, the whole town took responsibility for avenging the death of loved ones, not merely one clan. The Cuscowillas even invited the British to participate in the spiritual and martial customs necessary to ensure a war party's success. Men and women from Cuscowilla and the nearby Spalding's Lower Store danced, drank, sang, and engaged in sexual relations in order to equip the warriors with cosmic powers. As a result, the Cuscowillas and their British friends ratcheted up regional violence.

Other towns, however, chose a more peaceful course of action. Located on a bend in the middle Tallapoosa River, Tuckabatchee had been ravaged by war since the late 1760s. By 1772, the Tuckabatchees were reeling from crisis. On April 6, British Agent to the Upper Creeks David Taitt observed a dance there. The Tuckabatchee headman Mad Dog was "very bussie preparing Physick and Causing the people to dance

[42] For clan-based war parties, see Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 243-244. For Cuscowilla connections to the Lower Creeks, see Charles Stuart to John Stuart [?], 8/26/1770, enclosed in John Stuart to Gage, 12/13/1770, TGP.

every night on purpose to bring back to life their fire Maker," the ritual specialist who extinguished and rekindled the town fire during Busk. The late ritual leader had been married to Mad Dog's sister, making Mad Dog his brother-in-law, and had been captured by the Choctaws late in 1771 and "by them Skined [*sic*]." The widow, Taitt reported, "perswades the people that he comes to her sometimes in the night and that he keeps about the Square and hot house and will soon make his Appearance in publick if they make the Physick strong Enough, and take proper care." The "Physick" connoted the spiritual powers unleashed by dance, which, as the Tuckabatchees hoped, would revive the town priest. Unfortunately, Tuckabatchee's mico (name unknown) had grown "tired" of fasting, whereupon he ate "some victuals, which spoiled the Physick, and prevented the fire maker coming this night [April 6]." Despite the ritual violation, Mad Dog "desired that the people might attend every night in the Square, untill the fire maker did come which he assured them would be soon."[43]

The Tuckabatchee Resurrection Dance of 1772 aimed to restore life to a town priest, who oversaw town rituals. Among other things, he appointed the day on which Busk began and, according to a later source, "dressed in white leather moccasins and

[43] David Taitt, entry 4/6/1772, "Journal of David Taitt's Travels from Pensacola, West Florida, to and through the Country of the Upper and the Lower Creeks, 1772," in *Travels in the American Colonies*, ed. Newton D. Mereness (New York: MacMillan Company, 1916), 497-565, here 538. Taitt first mentions this dance on April 6. When and where the head priest was flayed alive are unknown. The Tuckabatchees may have attacked the Choctaws sometime in mid-1770. In June, Charles Stuart wrote to his cousin, John Stuart, that "I suspect the Tuckabatchees" were involved in a Creek attack that resulted in four Choctaw deaths on the Chickasaw Path. The Tuckabatchees also captured the "niece to Mingo - Houma – Chito, great Medal Chief of the Little Mucklasses who was the person Employed to Settle the Peace, this Misfortune has rubbed up old Sores." See Charles Stuart to John Stuart, 6/12/1770, Pensacola, enclosed in Stuart's dispatch "No. 25," 7/16/1770, CO5/75. For Mingo Houma Chito as a Great Medal Chief of the Eastern Division village of East Imongoulasha, see O'Brien, "Protecting Trade through War," in *Pre-Removal*, ed. O'Brien, 108, 111.

stockings, with a white dressed deerskin over his shoulders." Additionally, this headman lit the "new fire," handled the new corn harvest, and communicated with the "*great master of breath*." Above all, the fire maker purified his townspeople, men and women alike, through world renewal ceremonialism. Without him, Tuckabatchee risked celebrating the Busk festival of 1772 without established spiritual leadership.[44]

In response, Mad Dog and his widowed sister exercised their influence to keep up the Resurrection Dance. On the evening of April 10, Taitt saw the square ground "where both Sexes were dancing round a fire." Seated, Mad Dog pled ignorance as to "the time when the fire Maker would come." He said "that it might be three or four nights" and "Ordered them all to attend untill he came."[45] That the townspeople danced on the 6th and 10th suggests that they did so on the 7th, 8th, and 9th. Possibly, they had been dancing intermittently since first learning of the priest's death, long before Taitt first noticed the ritual on April 6. Apparently, the dance interfered with Mad Dog's diplomatic schedule. He refused, for instance, to attend Okchai for a meeting with Taitt and other headmen because he was "affraid to leave his women," meaning his clan relations. Mad Dog abstained from the meeting, which was held on the 18th and 19th. With his sister, Mad Dog focused on pressing town issues.[46]

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[44] Caleb Swan, "Position and State of Manners and Arts in the Creek, or Muscogee Nation in 1791," in *Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, ed. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, vol. 5 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1855): 251-283, here 267-268. Swan learned about Creek culture while residing in Little Tallassee in October-December 1790. For more on Creek town priests, see Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 340, and Bartram, *William Bartram*, ed. Waselkov and Braund, 118.

[45] Taitt, entry 4/10/1772, "Journal," in *Travels*, ed. Mereness, 539.

[46] Taitt, entries 4/17/1772 to 4/19/1772, "Journal," in *Travels*, ed. Mereness, 542-544; Okchai conference, 4/19/1772, GFT, 428.

Whereas the Cuscowilla festival united families and townspeople around a shared commitment to warfare, the Resurrection Dance rallied a grieving clan and townspeople around ceremonies designed to restore life and peace. Taitt assumed that the brother and sister did not have the greater town's interests at heart, writing that Mad Dog was "a very Artfull fellow and is trying to impose on the Credulity of his people on purpose to free his Sisster from her widow hood, who by their Laws must remain a widow for four years."[47] While it is possible that she wished to exempt herself from this grueling custom, the fact remains that the Tuckabatchee townspeople, and not solely her clan, approved of her efforts to restore her late husband's life and to call upon her townspeople to aid in that effort by dancing nightly. As a widow, a clan leader, and the sister of a respected ritual leader, she certainly cared for her people.[48] The Resurrection Dance may have been a singular product of the Creek-Choctaw War, for no other sources refer to such a ceremony.[49] In most mourning dances, Creeks helped a deceased spirit reach the afterlife and did not usually dance for their resurrection and return. At the turn of the twentieth century, for example, an anthropologist observed the "Skeleton Dance" led by the Tuskegee ritual specialist, Laslie Cloud (Raccoon Leader). Also known as the

[47] Taitt, entry 4/10/1772, "Journal," in *Travels*, ed. Mereness, 539; Braund, *Deerskins*, 14.

[48] Creek men and women followed gender-based leadership roles in the square ground. For analyses of gendered power in the Mississippian and colonial periods, see Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Martha W. McCartney, "Cockacoeske, Queen of Pamunkey: Diplomat and Suzeraine," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, 2nd ed., eds. Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter H. Wood, and Tom Hatley (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 243-266; and Michelle LeMaster, *Brothers Born of One Mother: British-Native American Relations in the Colonial Southeast* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

[49] John R. Swanton, *Creek Religion and Medicine* (1928; repr., Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 521-534. Swanton learned of twenty-two dances from Jackson Lewis, a Hitchiti living in Oklahoma, and of thirty dances from a Texas Alabama. Not one of these dances was designed to restore human life.

Human Bone Dance, this dance "quieted" the dead and prepared the spirit for entrance into the afterlife.[50] Whether the Tuckabatchee Resurrection Dance was a reinterpretation of mourning custom is uncertain though likely. The violence of the Creek-Choctaw War required grief-stricken families to adapt old customs in new contexts and for peaceful purposes.[51]

In 1775, three years later, another Creek town promoted peace in a war-torn world, this time drawing upon rituals of song and kinship to allay grief. In that year, the Tallapoosa town of Muccolossus, which lay downriver from Tuckabatchee, indigenized a corpus of Choctaw songs. As the town sang and danced to these songs, the Muccolossus people captured the enemy's sacred powers and mourned loved ones slain by the Choctaws. Additionally, the songs expanded the town's web of kinship. Through a complex transaction, a mixed-heritage Creek, or "Mustee," as Bartram called him, initially introduced Choctaw musics to Muccolossus.[52] The town trader, who was married to a female relative of Wolf, introduced the Mustee to Wolf. In turn, Wolf oversaw the marriage of the Mustee to another female relative of Wolf. By means of kinship and song, Muccolossus addressed the crises of war.

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[50] Frank Gouldsmith Speck, "Ceremonial Songs of the Creek and Yuchi Indians," *University of Pennsylvania, University Museum, Anthropological Publications*, vol. I, no. 2 (1911): 157-245, here 159, 164, 177-178. Laslie Cloud's Tuskegee name was *Kabítcimáła* or "Raccoon Leader," and the Tuskegee name of the dance is *IstīfA'nibA'nga* or "human bone dance" (177n1). Most of the dances Speck observed and recorded on phonograph took place at night (161). Men, women, and children participated.

[51] Unfortunately, whether the town priest was resurrected or avenged in warfare is unknown.

[52] I could not identify a name, so I follow Bartram by calling this young man "Mustee" (97).

According to Bartram, the mother of the unnamed Mustee Creek was a "Chactaw slave."[53] Her Choctaw town and clan affiliation are unknown, although her Creek masters may have lived in Muccolossus, given her son's later connections to the town. The father was a *métis* (a person of Euro-Indian ancestry), "a half breed," Bartram later learned, "betwixt a Creek [woman] and a white man."[54] According to matrilineal reckoning, the father inherited a Creek clan and town identity. But because the Mustee's mother was Choctaw, the Mustee inherited her status as a slave, a Choctaw, and an outsider in Creek society. In the Creek language, the Mustee, like his mother, was an *este-vpuekv* or "domestic animal person," the equivalent to a "slave."[55] This probably explains why the Mustee's birth name escaped Bartram. The Mustee's father had taught his son "reading, writing and arithmetic," and for Bartram, the son spoke English "very well," as did many *métis* Southerners at this time.[56]

In the fall of 1775, the Mustee reconnected with his Choctaw heritage. He "left the [Creek] Nation, went to Mobile, and there entered into the service of the trading company to the Chactaws, as a white man." Passing as a "white" person, the Mustee

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[53] Bartram also wrote that the boy had "Chactaw blood in his veins from his mother." See *Bartram*, ed. Waselkov and Braund, 124.

[54] *Bartram*, eds. Waselkov and Braund, 97, 258n125, 258n126. The population of mixed-heritage people in the Native South increased dramatically in the eighteenth century. In 1733, the European population of Georgia and South Carolina numbered about thirteen thousand. There were also more than thirteen thousand African slaves as well as thousands of Indians. About one thousand people were *métis* or persons of "mixed parentage." They were the offspring of any combination of unions between Indians, Europeans, and Africans. John T. Juricek, *Colonial Georgia and the Creeks: Anglo-Indian Diplomacy on the Southern Frontier, 1733-1763* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2010), 18.

[55] Jack B. Martin and Margaret McKane Mauldin, *A Dictionary of Creek/Muskogee* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 33 (*este*: "person"), 141 (*vpuekv*: "domestic animal"), 313 (*este-vpuekv*: "slave"). This etymology of the Creek word for slave may not have appeared until the nineteenth century.

[56] *Bartram*, eds. Waselkov and Braund, 124

ventured "every where" in Choctaw country, where he learned Choctaw "music and poetry." Before long, the Choctaws caught wind of "his lineage and consanguinity with the Creeks, by the father's side." As a result, they "pronounced him a Creek" and declared him "an enemy and a spy amongst them, and secretly resolved to dispatch him." To avoid this death sentence, the Mustee fled Choctaw country, and by November 1775, he was back in Mobile. There, he "threw himself under the protection of the English" and gained employment with the licensed British trader to Muccolossus, John Adam Tapley, who was traveling north up to the town.[57] Tapley's trading caravan consisted of Tapley, other traders, several horses laden with wares, two packhorse men who steered the horses, William Bartram, and the Mustee. During the trip, the Mustee befriended Bartram and worked as one of the packhorse men.[58] As the caravan approached Muccolossus, Tapley went to meet with Wolf and other headmen. Like other Indian countrymen, Tapley was married to one of the mico's female relations, who gained him access to Muccolossus consumers.[59]

Tapley was a controversial figure in Creek society. In late October 1771, the Upper Creeks conferred with the British in Pensacola. During negotiations over trade, Emistisiguo complained about settlers illegally hunting on Creek lands. He said that "there are many White Men in our Nation who follow no other Business but that of Hunting such as Mcfall, Humphry Hubbard, John Stripes and Adam Taply, who declare to our faces they will hunt on our Land, in spite of all opposition or Regulations to the

[57] *Bartram*, eds. Waselkov and Braund, 97, 124.
[58] *Bartram*, eds. Waselkov and Braund, 97, 124. The Mustee first met Tapley in Mobile or Tensaw.
[59] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 98-100, 231n108.

Contrary."[60] One year later, Tapley was in trouble again. Lower Creeks informed British agent David Taitt that Tapley had been "digging up the Bodies of the Coweta Indians & likewise" committing other "Felonies." As a result of the desecration of Indian bodies, as Taitt wrote to Stuart, "Headmen want these People taken from amongst them."[61]

Despite Tapley's unpopularity among Creeks, Wolf controlled the brash trader by having him marry one of Wolf's relatives. It is unclear when Tapley married, but we know that Wolf and Tapley had formed ties as early as 1772. Taitt's journal provides clues about Wolf's friendship with Tapley. On February 24, 1772, Taitt visited Cooloome, a Tallapoosa town located just east of Wolf's town. Taitt went there to address Upper Creek grievances against British traders. When he arrived, he sent for "some of the Head men" of Muccolossus "and some white men who were Idleing about." Late in the morning, Wolf and Tapley arrived at Cooloome together. After resting, Wolf accused John Pigg, the Cooloome trader, of stealing two of Wolf's horses. Two months later, Wolf was still complaining about Pigg. Revealingly, during this period, Wolf lodged no complaints against Tapley. Wolf and Tapley were apparently close allies, aided by an economically strategic marriage.[62]

By 1775, Wolf and Tapley were still on good terms. So much so that after Tapley's caravan entered Muccolossus with Bartram and the Mustee, the town held a "great dance and festival." During the festivities, the town "youth" discovered that the Mustee had been to Choctaw country, where he learned the Choctaws' "most celebrated

[60] Second Anglo-Upper Creek Pensacola Congress, 10/29 to 10/31/1771, GFT, 398.
[61] Taitt to Stuart, 11/22/1772, Little Tallassee, enclosed in Stuart to (?), 2/25/1773, CO5/74.
[62] Taitt, 2/24/1772 (509-511) and 4/14/1772 (540-541), in *Travels*, ed. Mereness.

new songs and poetry." The townspeople accordingly "pressed him, to give out some of his new songs." When he "complied," the "songs and dance went round with harmony and eclat," as the Muccolossus people weaved the songs into the cadences of the town's musical repertoire. Men and women probably sang while dancing around the fire in a "circle."[63] Bartram quoted one stanza of a song:

All men must surely die,
Tho' no one knows how soon,
Yet when the time shall come,
The event may be joyful

This song mourned those who died, encouraged warriors to meet death with bravery, and perhaps attempted to capture and weaken the Choctaws' spiritual powers, all thanks to the Mustee. The songs Bartram heard and translated were a fascinating Creek-Choctaw hybrid and reflected the horror of death in lower Tallapoosa country.[64]

The Creek-Choctaw songs signaled Muccolossus' connections to the spirit world and to loved ones who had perished in the Creek-Choctaw War. The new songs may have also opened up fresh positions of spiritual leadership, with the Muccolossus youth

[63] Muccolossus belonged to the Tallapoosa and not Alabama ethno-linguistic division. See Jerome Courtonne, List of Headmen of the Creeks, October 1758, in Box 8, William Henry Lyttelton papers, William L. Clements Library, The University of Michigan (hereafter *WHLP*); Joshua Piker, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stories in Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 283n5. Puzzlingly, Bartram wrote that "Mucclasse" and "Alabama" spoke the "Stincard tongue," implying these were Alabama towns; see *Bartram*, eds. Waselkov and Braund ("Towns on the Talllapoose [sic] or Oakfuske river," 108). Yet Wolf himself indicated that he was a Tallapoosa, and that other Tallapoosa towns listened to him; see Taitt, journal, 4/14/1772 ("Tallapuses"), in *DAR*, 5:270. Muccolossus and Sawanogi lay about ten miles upstream from the confluence of the Tallapoosa, Coosa, and Alabama Rivers. These small towns were located on the southwestern bank of the Tallapoosa. Sawanogi's agricultural fields were located on both sides of the river; see Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 73, 82.

[64] *Bartram*, eds. Waselkov and Braund, 124-125.

leading the vanguard. Such "moral songs," as Bartram labeled them, were akin to "religious lectures" that instructed the townspeople in ritual knowledge. The songs were "doleful" and elegiac, having "a quick and sensible effect on their passions." These "passions" depended on the chorus and on the person leading each song. The "countenance" of the singers might be "dejected" or "by an easy transition, [became] gently elevated, as if in solemn address or supplication" to the Master of Breath or any spirit being. Aurally, such an address sounded "tremulous," "sweet," or "lamentable." Under the proper spiritual state, the participant "is for a moment lost to himself." One could observe a "person immediately affected" and risk "revealing his own distress unawares."[65]

Just as the town youth incorporated the songs into communal rituals, Wolf incorporated the Mustee into the town's network of kinship. In early December, Bartram wrote that the "young Mustee" married a "Creek girl of Mucclasse, daughter [i.e., niece?] of the chief and sister to our trader's wife." As a result, he became an affinal kinsman of the town and an adoptive clansman of Wolf. The wedding took place in a "secret nuptial chamber," a square formed by the "trader's house and store." In the evening, town members joined in dances, "music[,] and feasting," and the "happy couple" consummated their marriage "all the next day."[66] By marrying into a Tallapoosa town and becoming a Muccolossus kinsman, the Mustee shed his slave identity and established himself as a

[65] *Bartram*, eds. Waselkov and Braund, 123, 125.

[66] *Bartram*, eds. Waselkov and Braund, 100. Kathryn Braund suggests that both the Mustee and Tapley married Wolf's nieces, rather than his daughters, in order to keep both men within his and his sisters' clan (Braund, *Deerskins*, 231n108).

Creek. Possibly, the Mustee ritually replaced a Muccolossus warrior who had died during the war. Kinship and ritual song reestablished order in the town.[67]

Muccolossus' incorporation of Choctaw music operated within a vibrant tradition of cross-cultural exchange dating back to the Mississippians. In Bartram's opinion, some of the Creeks' "most favorite songs and dances" came "from their enemy, the Chactaw." Each Creek town "strives to excel each other in composing new songs for dances." By the 1770s, Creek towns had "at least one new song, for exhibition, at every annual busque" (Green Corn Ceremony).[68] In the early twentieth century, anthropologist John R. Swanton supported Bartram's observations and argued that the Chickasaws probably "borrowed" many Creek customs in the colonial period, especially those Chickasaws who lived among the Creeks at the Upper Creek town of Breed Camp.[69] The Cherokees borrowed music from the "Cherokee-Muskogeans" in the decades after Cherokee Removal. In 1963, researchers obtained several Muskogean charm songs from a Cherokee medicine man, who believed that they were originally Creek or Natchez. Cherokees likely learned about these songs from the Creek Baptist churches located in

[67] While the Mustee was incorporated into Muccolossus, a "young Chactaw slave girl" was not. As the community sang the Choctaw songs, she recognized one of them, which evoked memories of her former life. The Mustee informed Bartram that when the slave girl had been "lately taken captive, her father and brothers were slain in the contest, and she understanding the sense of the song, called to remembrance the tragical fate of her family, and could not forbear weeping at the recital." See *Bartram*, eds. Waselkov and Braund, 124.

[68] *Bartram*, eds. Waselkov and Braund, 124. For twentieth-century Creek songs, see the two-part recording of *Songs of the Muskogee Creek*, Indian House Digital CD, 2006. The songs were originally recorded in May 1969 in Seminole, Oklahoma.

[69] See Swanton, *Creek Religion*, 523, 590.

the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Cherokee Nation, where Muskogean "enclaves" influenced Cherokee culture.[70]

As Creek and Seminole towns and kin adapted to warfare locally, Creek diplomats dealt with the war internationally. As early as 1770, Creek and Choctaw diplomats negotiated with one another via messages handwritten by British go-betweens. Off-and-on from 1770 to 1775, Upper Creek headmen, specifically, forged a series of coalitions aimed at concluding the war. Diplomacy was the logical extension of clan and town, however, and this meant that the headmen who led those coalitions could not escape their town and, especially, clan affinities. Consequently, quests for peace foundered on the requirement of clan vengeance. Headmen served their towns and provinces as diplomats, but they also went to war to satisfy calls for retaliation. As a result, the Upper Creek coalitions, precisely because they were woven from towns and clans, trapped the Creeks in a tragic cycle of peace and war.

In 1770, headmen from Okchai, Little Tallassee, and Okfuskee forged a peace coalition. Each town contained some of the most respected diplomats in Creek society. Mortar of Okchai, Emistisiguo of Little Tallassee, and Handsome Fellow of Okfuskee each had preeminent credentials as political leaders and international diplomats.[71] Mortar was the chosen voice of the Upper Creek peace coalition in 1764 and 1765, but

[70] Jack F. Kilpatrick and Anna G. Kilpatrick, "Muskogean Charm Songs among the Oklahoma Cherokees," *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology* 2:3 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press, 1967), 29-31.

[71] Hahn, *Invention*, 274; Braund, *Deerskins*, 141. According to Piker, *Okfuskee*, 180, Okchai and Okfuskee were the "leading towns of the Upper Creeks' Abeika division."

Emistisiguo too commanded influence among Tallapoosa and Abeika towns.[72] Moreover, the British honored Mortar and Emistisiguo as "Great Medal Chiefs" in 1765, acknowledging their ability to rule among the Upper towns.[73] Furthermore, each headman belonged to powerful clans: Mortar was a Bear, Emistisiguo a Tiger.[74] For his part, Handsome Fellow excelled in diplomacy with the British throughout the 1760s and 1770s.[75]

As part of the 1770 Upper Creek coalition, Emistisiguo was appointed as principal speaker to serve in Creek-Choctaw negotiations, which began in Pensacola. To that end, Emistisiguo visited Deputy Superintendent Charles Stuart (John's cousin) there in June. On June 17, Stuart presented Emistisiguo with "a talk from the Choctaws" who wished to cease hostilities with the Creeks. The Choctaws sent "three strings of white beads, one from the Six Towns" and one from the Eastern Division ("East party"), along

[72] In a talk to John Stuart in 1764, Emistisiguo spoke for the Upper Creeks: "we Upper and Tallipussie Creeks are all here now present" (in Little Tallassee) (212). While Little Tallassee was listed as an Abeika town in 1758 (Courtonne, List, Box 8, *WHLP*), most evidence indicates it belonged to the Tallapoosa division. For Emistisiguo as a Tallapoosa, see editor's note, GFT, 537n65.

[73] At the conclusion of the Pensacola Congress, Mortar, Emistisiguo, Gun Merchant (who was absent), and Deval's Landlord (of Puckatallahassee) were made "Great Medal Chiefs." Wolf King (also absent) was later made a Great Medal Chief. Tupulga (or Molton of the Alabamas), Tipoye or Topoye Hutke (of Koasati), and Beaver Tooth King (of Tallassee) were given "Small Medals." The Okchai Mico Gun Merchant made Okchai's Hopoya Hadjo a Small Medal Chief. For the conference, see GFT, 198, 273, 542n112, 542n113.

[74] For Mortar's clan, see Pensacola Congress, 5/30/1765, GFT, 272; for Emistisiguo's clan, see Emistisiguo to Georgia Governor James Wright, 5/1/1771, Okchai, enclosed in Philemon Kemp to Wright, 6/6/1771, Augusta, in *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770-1783* (hereafter, cited as *DAR*), ed. K. G. Davies (Shannon, IE: Irish University Press, 1973), 3:119.

[75] Piker, *Okfuskee*, 52-63. I have been unable to locate his clan affiliation.

with "pipes and tobacco." The Little Tallassee headman was overjoyed.[76] In response, Emistisiguo enlisted Charles Stuart to write a message to the Choctaws on behalf of the Creeks. Because Creek and Choctaw diplomats risked death if they traveled in enemy territory, Emistisiguo instructed Stuart to send two "white wings and some tobacco" to the Choctaws "to wipe away all bad talks, that one wing and tobacco was from the Mortar, the other from himself." The headman said that if the Choctaws accepted these gifts, both sides would become "Friends."[77]

Diplomats failed to reach a compromise, however, so in September the Upper Creeks designed a large "Belt of Whampum" to bolster the peace effort (Figure 9).[78] Wampum are small beads rendered from various seashells, most popularly the quahog clam (*Mercenaria mercenaria*). The tradition of wampum diplomacy belonged to the Iroquoian-speakers of the Northeast and particularly to the Great League of Peace and Power, otherwise known as the Iroquois League. The Iroquois fashioned belts and strings from wampum, deploying them as "mnemonic devices" and ritual gifts in diplomacy. The arrangement and color of the beads communicated a precise message to the recipient from the speaker and, perhaps, from his lineage. Belts possessed "inherent spiritual power." As a text, ritual object, and metaphor for life and death, a wampum belt

[76] Charles Stuart to John Stuart, 6/17/1770, Pensacola, in *DAR*, ed. K. G. Davies (Shannon, IE: Irish University Press, 1972), 2:109.

[77] Charles Stuart to John Stuart, 6/17/1770, Pensacola, enclosed in John Stuart to Thomas Gage, 12/13/1770, TGP. Emistisiguo also informed Charles that "he had returned a Woman that some of the Abekoutchies[?] [probably the Abecouchees] had taken since the Peace Talks began and that he imagined she was now in the Choctaw nation." As well, Mortar requested the Choctaws to send a headman to the Upper Creeks to ratify the peace.

[78] Emistisiguo to Charles Stuart," undated, enclosed in John Stuart to Gage, 12/13/1770, TGP.

captured the fictive ties among Indians and between Indians and Europeans.[79] In the South, by the mid eighteenth century Muskogean-speakers were creating "beaded" belts from European ceramic beads rather than from the more traditional medium of seashells.[80] The Upper Creeks' 1770 "Belt of Whampum" was probably a beaded belt. Despite its physical make-up, a beaded belt or wampum belt served to bring two (or more) peoples together in peace, harmony, and fictive kinship.

To that end, Emistisiguo, Mortar, Handsome Fellow, Gun Merchant, and Little Tallassee's Second Man ("Neothlucco")[81] each sent messages to the Choctaws that accompanied the belt.[82] Interpreting the belt for Stuart, Emistisiguo explained that one end of the belt contained a "Black Ring," the color of death, that represented the "Whole Creek Nation" but particularly the "Tallapousses & Abekas," who suffered more than the Lower Creeks from Choctaw violence. A "White Bead," invoking peace and life, lay at the opposite end of the belt and represented the Choctaw Nation. Emistisiguo also noted

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[79] Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 47.

[80] James Adair, *The History of the American Indians*, ed. Kathryn E. Holland Braund (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 201, 504n169. Adair reported that the Southern Indians traditionally created wampum "out of conch-shell, by rubbing them on hard stones, and so they form them according to their liking" (201). Beads replaced conch-shell wampum by the mid eighteenth century.

[81] For spelling, see John Stuart to Emistisiguo and "Neothlucco" (the Second Man), July 1774, enclosure 8 of Stuart to Earl of Dartmouth (?), 8/2/1774, CO5/75.

[82] The belt, some strings of beads, tobacco pouches, and the accompanying talks were all created before December 13 and probably in September of 1770. Three sources provide insight into the 1770 coalition. The first source is titled "Emistisiguo to Charles Stuart Esq. a Talk with Peau [few?] Tokens to the Chactaws" ("Belt of Whampum"). The second source is titled "A Talk from the Creeks to Cha. Stuart Esq in Sep 1770." In this second source, Emistisiguo said, "I Hope you will dispatch these Tobacco Pouches with the Belt of whampum to the Chactaws as Soon as Possible & let me know about what time I may Expect an Answer from them as the Whole Nation is much Concerned at present." In the third and final source, strings of beads and more tobacco pouches were sent, along with talks; see "A Peace Talk The Creeks to the Chactaws." All are enclosed in John Stuart to Gage, 12/13/1770, TGP. Transcriptions of the first and third sources, with minor grammatical changes, can be found in CO5/72.

that the white bead designated the Western Division Choctaw town of Congeetoo ("Cungito"), where a headman named Taboca lived. Charles may have been instructed to carry the belt there. Following the logic of town-based diplomacy, the Congeetoos may have been the Upper Creeks' contact town.[83] Finally, in the middle of the belt was the "Strap," which joined the Upper Creeks and Choctaws in a "Broad" and "Clear Path." At the belt's center, colored shells portrayed Emistisiguo clasping hands with "Holaghtaobaye" (perhaps Taboca), with whom he wished to mediate in Mobile. Charles was instructed to present the belt to the Choctaws only if they were "Real" (sincere). If the Choctaws accepted it, they should "take Great Care of the White Belt as it is a Great Beloved Belt."[84]

[83] For "Congeetoo," a town of the Western Division Choctaws, see O'Brien, *Choctaws*, 22.

[84] Emistisiguo to Charles Stuart," undated, enclosed in John Stuart to Gage, 12/13/1770, *TGP*. In the second talk to Charles, perhaps given only days later, Emistisiguo sent "Tobacco Pouches" to Charles to give to the Choctaws ("A Talk from the Creeks to Cha. Stuart Esq in Sep 1770," enclosed in John Stuart to Gage, 12/13/1770, TGP).

Figure 9. Anthony Gonyea (Onondaga), Iroquois Wampum Belt. The Upper Creeks' "Great Beloved Belt" may have looked similar to this replica of a wampum belt commissioned by President George Washington to ratify the Treaty of Canandaigua of November 1794. Made from ceramic beads, leather, and sinew. Thirteen persons holding hands symbolize the thirteen American states. The Mohawks (Keepers of the Eastern Door) and Senecas (Keepers of the Western Door) flank the longhouse, which represents the Iroquois League. *Source*: Anthony Gonyea (Onondaga), 2014, The National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C. Photographed by author. For Canandaigua treaty, see *The Collected Speeches of Sagoyewatha, or Red Jacket*, ed. Granville Ganter (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2006), 61-67.

The Beloved Belt was a town-based roadmap. Emistisiguo revealed to Stuart that the "White Beads round at each End" denoted "Peace from the Leading Town of the Nation to each other." The leading Creek town was actually a cluster of the "four" Alabama towns that lived near the "Alabama Fort," previously French Fort Toulouse. This fort had been "always white & Clean" and connected the Alabamas to Mobile, formerly occupied by "the French." The headman contrasted the peace-going French with the aggressive British, who were currently supplying the weapons with which the Creeks and Choctaws killed one other. Linked to the Alabamas was the leading town of the Choctaws, Congeetoo, marked by the "Round Ring of Beads." Perhaps the beaded ring was color-coded, for when the Choctaws "See" it, as Emistisguo indicated, they "will know to whom it belongs." Emistisiguo requested Stuart to give the belt to three Choctaw headmen—"Ullaughta Opoyah," "Inlobshouma," and "Laughtobo" (Taboca?).[85] The belt was an exercise in town localism, which fed an international agreement.

In addition to the belt, Emistisiguo forwarded eagle's wings and beads on behalf of all Creek towns. In the metaphorical presence of "all the Warriors in the [Creek] Nation," Emistisiguo advanced a "White Wing" to all Choctaws, thereby committing Creek warriors to peace. Moreover, he dispatched some "White Beads" that he had "been thinking of this Long Time." Should the Choctaws accept his beads, they would know "all is thrown away & nothing but Love & Friendship Shall be Confirmed" between the two peoples. But though he spoke for all Creek towns, he relied on one

[85] Emistisiguo planned to meet the three men in Mobile on "the Fifth moon." "A Peace Talk The Creeks to the Chactaws," enclosed in John Stuart to Gage, 12/13/1770, *TGP*. "Ullaughta Opoyah" might refer to an Eastern Division leader; a Choctaw named Oppapaye is referenced in O'Brien, *Choctaws*, 78.

particular town to achieve Creek-Choctaw peace. Apparently, Emistisiguo transmitted the beads via the Upper Creek town of Breed Camp, a small band of Chickasaws that settled in Upper Creek country earlier in the century. Emistisiguo worked through Breed Camp, in addition to Deputy Superintendent Stuart, to draw upon the town basis of international diplomacy. Since the Chickasaws remained neutral in this conflict and shared kinship ties to the Choctaws, particularly to Western Division towns like Congeetoo, Emistisiguo indirectly drafted Chickasaw support by working through the Chickasaw-descended Breed Camp.[86]

Other Upper Creek headmen transmitted objects of diplomacy that invoked their world of towns and cross-town ties. Mortar gave "Tobacco & Beads Contained in [a] Blue Bag" on behalf of "the Cusadoes" or Coosada, an Alabama town. Although Mortar was an Abeika of Okchai town, an Okchai village named Little Okchai had settled near the Alabamas earlier in the century, thus linking the Alabamas with the Abeikas. Mortar presented the "Blue Bag" as a "Sign of peace to the Opoyah Mico who once lived among us & is well known." Mortar may have referenced a Creek who presently resided among the Choctaws and who therefore wedded the Creeks and Choctaws in kinship and alliance. As international peace-keeper, Mortar said that "all the Headmen & Warriors of

[86] For Choctaw-Chickasaw kinship ties, see Manuel Gayoso de Lemos to Baron de Carondelet, 3/14/1795, Natchez, in "Papers from the Spanish Archives Relating to Tennessee and the Old Southwest, 1783-1800," trans. and ed. D. C. Corbitt and Roberta Corbitt, in *East Tennessee Historical Society* no. 44 (1972), 109. I thank Greg O'Brien for the point that Congeetoo shared ties with the Chickasaws. Emistisiguo also sent a double-stranded beaded string with white and black beads on opposing ends. He hoped that life (white) would prevail over death (black) and dissipate the "Cloud that has been over us." His final gift was "Tobacco," which was "sent by all the Headmen of these Rivers," referring to the Abeika and Tallapoosa towns along the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers. See "A Peace Talk The Creeks to the Chactaws," enclosed in John Stuart to Gage, 12/13/1770, TGP.

this Nation" desired peace and by promising to monitor the "Rambling Young Fellows" itching for war.[87] Handsome Fellow ("Handsome man") of Okfuskee followed up on Mortar's address by appealing to specific (though unnamed) towns. He forwarded a "Long String of Barley Corn Beads" from the "Farthest part [town?]" of "our Nation" to the westernmost part of Choctaw country, thus tying the two peoples together in a "Long & White" path, bookended by towns.[88]

Around September, the Deputy Superintendent delivered the Upper Creek overtures to the Choctaws.[89] Unfortunately, Upper Creek headmen's efforts to extinguish the violence failed. When Emistisiguo and other Upper Creek headmen arrived in Mobile in December to parlay with the Choctaws, Charles Stuart informed them that Choctaws warriors had killed "4 or 5" Creeks. Knowing that the aggrieved clan would no doubt pursue vengeance, Emistisiguo said "it would be to no purpose to make the peace today [only to go to] war tomorrow."[90]

In 1772, two years later, a rapproachment between Creeks and Choctaws remained elusive, but Upper Creek leaders pushed ahead. To that end, they and the Indians across the Native South and Ohio valley launched an inter-tribal peace initiative. In late 1772, Mad Dog told David Taitt that the Chickasaws and Shawnees tried to broker

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[87] "A Peace Talk The Creeks to the Chactaws," enclosed in John Stuart to Gage, 12/13/1770, TGP. (I am uncertain who "Opoyah Mico" was.)

[88] "A Peace Talk The Creeks to the Chactaws," enclosed in John Stuart to Gage, 12/13/1770, TGP. Gun Merchant, like his brother-in-law Mortar, delivered a tobacco pouch to the Choctaws, urging them to smoke the tobacco with Stuart. The final speaker was Second Man of Little Tallassee, who sent a "Large Pouch" filled with tobacco from the Nation's headmen.

[89] For circumstantial evidence that Charles did so, see Thomas Gage to Earl of Hillsborough, 7/7/1770, New York, in DAR, 2:137; and Charles Stuart to John Stuart, 12/26/1770, Pensacola, in DAR, 2:302, 305.

[90] Charles Stuart to John Stuart, 12/26/1770, Pensacola, in DAR, 2:305. Emistisiguo was accompanied by Beaver Tooth King, Little Dick, Little Tallassee's Second Man, and others.

a Creek-Choctaw peace earlier that summer, when Mortar of Okchai had received a white beaded "String of Whampum" from the Shawnees on behalf of the Western Confederacy. In turn, Confederacy headmen asked Mortar to dispatch the string to the Choctaws via the Chickasaws. The Chickasaws, recall, remained neutral during the war. Tapping into his relationship with Okfuskee, Mortar had Handsome Fellow and Will's Friend (another Okfuskee headman) send the beaded string along with a "Peace Talk" to the Chickasaws. In turn, the Chickasaws might have forwarded the message and string to the Choctaws, though the evidence does not confirm that.[91]

Indians in the Native South and Ohio therefore worked together in the attempt to restore peace between the Creeks and Choctaws. For their part, Creek leaders tapped into the communication networks created by the Western Confederacy, though with Pontiac's Rebellion fresh in mind, the British feared that the Southern Indians and the Western Confederacy were conspiring to attack the British backcountry. Mad Dog assured Taitt that the Indians hoped to arbitrate a Creek-Choctaw peace rather than attack the British. The headman explained that the white string given to Mortar by the Western Confederacy was for making "peace with *all Nations of Indians* & was to be sent to the Chactaws to try to make peace with them." In turn, the Creeks "are to send it three Times from the Northward [i.e., Ohio valley Shawnees] to the Chactaws." But if the Choctaws "refuse to make Peace the fourth Time, then *all Nations* are to join & Cut them off."[92]

[91] Taitt to Stuart, 11/22/1772, Little Tallassee, enclosed in Stuart to (?), 2/25/1773, CO5/74.

[92] Taitt to Stuart, 11/22/1772, Little Tallassee, enclosed in Stuart to (?), 2/25/1773, CO5/74 (my emphasis).

Despite the multi-tribal effort to cease Creek-Choctaw hostilities, the war raged on. John Stuart wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth in late spring of 1773 that the Choctaws "obtained lately a considerable Advantage over" the Creeks, who, in turn, continued to seek diplomatic assistance from neighboring Indian nations. For instance, the Upper Creeks were "desirous of engaging the Chickasaws and Cherokees." Stuart learned that in June, Mortar planned to travel to Chota, an influential Cherokee town known as a "beloved town." Like Taitt, Stuart and Georgia Governor James Wright mistook pan-Indian diplomacy for anti-British conspiracy. Just as Mad Dog calmed Taitt, so Emistisiguo assured Stuart that Mortar and other Creek headmen were securing help from third-party arbiters, such as Britain's former enemies, the Shawnees and Cherokees.[93] According to Taitt, the Cherokee headman Little Carpenter was assuredly focused on brokering a Creek-Choctaw peace late in 1773.[94]

Community membership, however, plagued the Upper Creek and inter-tribal peace initiatives. Upper Creek headmen failed to balance their role as diplomats and as clan affiliates. As diplomats, Emistisiguo and Mortar promoted peace with the Choctaws on behalf of their towns, province, and nation. But as members of a clan, they had to obey the law of retaliation. Despite their peaceful gestures towards Choctaw country, clan vengeance trapped them in the clutches of war. In late October 1772, Taitt reported that the Tiger, Emistisiguo, departed with "a large Party" to hunt along the Escambia River and, afterwards, "to War [against the Choctaws] before they Return to their

[93] John Stuart to the Earl of Dartmouth, 6/21/1773, Savannah, enclosed in 9/7/1773, CO5/74.

[94] Taitt to John Stuart, 11/12/1773, Hickory Ground, GFT, 440.

Towns."[95] As Taitt wrote Stuart in late November, Mortar and his Bear clansmen had "gone Over the Coosa River to War." In the same letter, Taitt confirmed his earlier report about Emistisiguo, writing that the Tiger warrior had "gone towards Pensacola to Hunt and afterwards to War against the Chactaws."[96] In 1773, Mortar was still participating in raids or, at least, he planned to do so. Late that year, fourteen Cherokees visited the Alabama town of Hickory Ground, where they planned to launch an attack on the Choctaws. None other than Mortar was appointed to lead them.[97] Additionally, during the winter of 1773-1774, the Great Medal Chief and a Beloved Man of Puckatallahassee, Deval's Landlord, killed several Choctaws. As late as the spring of 1774, Taitt remarked, the "Whole Creek Nation Intend going to War" against the Choctaws, perhaps to exact clan vengeance on a massive scale.[98]

That the Creeks vacillated between war and peace with the Choctaws unveils the instability of especially clan membership. Particularly at wartime, when fellow kin perished in skirmishes, raids, and ritual torture, clan identity became an institution that fueled the Creek-Choctaw War. Creek men exacted vengeance to satisfy clan law and release to the afterlife the spirits of slain kin. Like the Deer clan warriors whose etching Bernard Romans observed, Mortar's Bear kin and Emistisiguo's Tiger kin showcased their bravery and prowess in war. Thus, kinship custom thwarted diplomacy and

[95] Taitt to John Stuart, 10/31/1772, Little Tallassee, GFT, 434-435.

[96] Taitt to Stuart, 11/22/1772, Little Tallassee, enclosed in Stuart to ?, 2/25/1773, CO5/74. For Mortar's clan identity, see Pensacola Congress records, 5/30/1765, GFT, 272.

[97] Taitt to John Stuart, 11/12/1773, Hickory Ground, GFT, 440. Emistisiguo lived in Hickory Ground by this date (566n85).

[98] Taitt to John Stuart , 1/12/1774, Little Tallassee, CO5/75. On background of Deval's Landlord, see Courtonne, List, in Box 8, WHLP.

prolonged warfare. Secondly, clan interests clashed with town interests. Clan vengeance obligated a family's men to wage war on an offending party, but towns like Tuckabatchee and Muccolossus tried to unite each town's families into a shared ethos of peace. In terms of diplomacy, Upper Creek headmen dispatched peace overtures to the Choctaws *primarily* on behalf of their towns and only *secondarily* on behalf of their clans. Nevertheless, those clans imposed limits on headmen's authority by requiring those headmen, when necessary, to attack the Choctaws. Community membership sparked a volatile balance between war and peace in late colonial Creek society.[99]

Meanwhile, Creek dependence on British trade goods crescendoed. Because the war required Creeks to purchase massive quantities of weapons, ammunition, and other items, they accumulated a steadily growing mountain of debt to their traders. As a result, the ability of British traders to extend lines of credit to Indian hunters/warriors in anticipation of future harvests of deerskins diminished. Charleston merchants and London financiers demanded that the Augusta-based traders call in the Indians' loans. The Creek-Choctaw War created a vicious cycle. When Creek warriors avenged loved ones, they also took the opportunity to hunt white-tailed deer in the same woods and along the same valleys where Choctaws hunted. Predictably, Creek and Choctaw hunters clashed, generating yet more cycles of revenge raids. Renewed conflict interrupted the winter hunts and made it harder for Creek hunters to harvest the deerskins necessary to

[99] Greg O'Brien suggests that Choctaw head warriors made some of the best diplomats because of their mastery of spiritual powers, real-world experience, and connections to faraway lands and peoples (*Choctaws*, 35). For an exploration of power on a trans-Atlantic scale, see Steven J. Peach, "Creek Indian Globetrotter: Tomochichi's Trans-Atlantic Quest for Traditional Power in the Colonial Southeast," *Ethnohistory* 60:4 (Fall 2013): 605-635, especially 606-609.

procure trade goods. Some headmen petitioned for price reductions—to no avail—by reminding British officials that the Creeks had generously overlooked the British settlement of Native hunting grounds in the Ogeechee and Oconee valleys since the 1750s.[100]

Rather than extend assistance to the Creeks, Georgia Governor James Wright and Augusta traders like George Galphin demanded Native land to liquidate the traders' debts and expand Georgia's domain westward. Wright secured permission from the British Crown and reluctant support from Superintendent John Stuart to negotiate a land-for-goods deal with the Indians. On June 1, 1773, Creek and Cherokee headmen signed the New Purchase Cession with Wright. In this land "transfer," the Creeks and Cherokees ceded about two-and-one-half million acres of land to Georgia in exchange for debt cancellation and the continuation of trade. The Indians had been backed into a corner. As Kathryn Braund succinctly puts it, "It was a question of either no guns and cloth or loss of land."[101]

Some Creeks protested the Cession with violence. From late December 1773 to mid-January 1774, a small war party that included Houmatchla of Coweta and Ochlulkee of Okfuskee murdered a total of seventeen people (fifteen settlers and two black slaves) on the ceded lands near the Ogeechee River.[102] Afterwards, the murderers took refuge in

[100] Braund, *Deerskins*, 54, 139-52.

[101] Braund, *Deerskins*, 54, 150-151, 151 (quote).

[102] The total number of murderers was either six or seven. For the attacks, see Taitt to John Stuart, 1/22/1774, Little Tallassee, CO5/75; Treaty of Savannah, 10/20/1774, Savannah, GFT, 153; and Braund, *Deerskins*, 159-163, 249n71. For "Ochlulkee" as a ringleader, see Pumpkin King's talk, undated [?], enclosed [?] in Stuart to Dartmouth, 8/2/1774, CO5/75. For "Houmatchla," see Taitt to John Stuart, 1/24/1774, Little Tallassee, CO5/75. Stuart identified "Houmachta & Sopia," probably also a Coweta, as murderers; see John Stuart to Dartmouth,

the Cherokee town of Tugaloo.[103] Houmatchla especially hated the "White People" who "burned" his "Settlement on Occoni Some Years ago."[104]

In the wake of the New Purchase crisis, Wright demanded that the Creeks execute the murderers, in early 1774. But Creek headmen refused, knowing that blood revenge would prompt the victims' family to kill any executioners. Also, headmen feared the spiritual powers of the ringleaders, Houmatchla and Ochlulkee. Writing from Little Tallassee, Taitt remarked that "the Indians are much affraid of Houmatchla, as they say he is a very great Witch," and that Ochlulkee and Houmatchla were "very great Villains."[105] Witchcraft and sorcery had deep roots in the Native South. Southern Indians believed that witches possessed malevolent powers and used their connections to ghosts, monsters, and other spirit beings in the Under World to harm society.[106] The otherworldly powers of Houmatchla and Ochlulkee alarmed headmen, who interpreted the New Purchase killings as both a spiritual and diplomatic crisis. Particularly in the context of the Creek-Choctaw War, which claimed hundreds of lives on either side, the Creeks believed that larger forces were at play in the 1770s.

7/21/1775, St. Augustine, CO5/76. For Ochlulkee's town affiliation, see Taitt to John Stuart, 1/24/1774, Little Tallassee, CO5/75 ("the Leaders were Houmatchla, a Coweta, and Ochtalky and [an?] Okfuske Indian"). For Young Lieutenant (or Escotchaby), see Piker, *Okfuskee*, 67.

[103] According to Stuart, "Four of the Murderers went to [Tugaloo] with news of what they had done, and to try to induce some of that nation to join them"; see Stuart [?], "An Account of the Great Elk's death & Murder of the Mad Turkey by the White People," enclosed in Stuart to ?, 5/6/1774, CO5/75.

[104] Taitt to John Stuart, 1/24/1774, Little Tallassee, CO5/75.

[105] Taitt to John Stuart, 1/24/1774, Little Tallassee, CO5/75.

[106] Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 173-175, 182-183. For Cherokee witchcraft, see Raymond D. Fogelson, "An Analysis of Cherokee Sorcery and Witchcraft," in *Four Centuries of Southern Indians*, ed. Charles Hudson (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1975), 113-131.

The Southern British colonies punished the Creeks, who refused to execute the ringleaders, by suspending Anglo-Creek trade. The trade embargo likely thwarted the Creeks' ability to fight the Choctaws, who during the winter of 1773-1774 had killed twenty Creeks.[107] These deaths demanded vengeance, but Creek warriors now had limited access to weapons. Trading on Creeks' dependence, Governor Wright asked a group of Creeks in April, "And what are you to get by a WARR [with the British]? The Trade with you will be stopped, from all Parts. ... Can you make Guns, Gun powder, Bullets, Glasses, paint and Cloathing etc. etc. You know you cannot make these things."[108] Taitt had more immediate concerns. He worried that if he called "a general Meeting of all the Heads of the Nation" and persuaded them to carry out the executions, Houmatchla and Ochlulkee might "Murder every [British] Trader" among the Lower Creeks, where he penned his letter to Stuart.[109]

To restore Anglo-Creek trade relations, headmen from Little Tallassee and Okfuskee spearheaded a cross-town coalition glued together by bonds of kinship. Since Ochlulkee and Emistisiguo were Tiger clansmen, Emistisiguo was responsible for punishing his trouble-maker relative.[110] Because Ochlulkee was an Okfuskee, the

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[107] Taitt to Stuart, 1/24/1774, Little Tallassee, CO5/75.

[108] Wright and Creeks, 4/14/1774, Savannah, GFT, 139.

[109] Taitt to Stuart, 2/25/1774, Ouseechee ("Usitchie"), CO5/75; GFT, 124 (for suspension of trade).

[110] For Emistisiguo's clan, see Emistisiguo to Wright, 5/1/1771, Okchai, enclosed in Philemon Kemp to Wright, 6/6/1771, Augusta, in *DAR*, 3:119; and Braund, *Deerskins*, 162. Emistisiguo may have been related to the other murderers. In January 1774, Taitt reported that the "Indians who Committed the Murders at Ogueechie are of the Tallassie Kings Family [clan]." In Taitt's estimation, the attackers belonged to the clan of the mico of Tallassee (also known as Great or Big Tallassee); see Taitt to John Stuart, 1/24/1774, Little Tallassee, CO5/75. I believe, however, Taitt meant *Little* Tallassee. During Anglo-Creek negotiations in 1774 and 1775, for instance, Tallassee does not crop up in the records. Nor does Tallassee Mico, who in 1774 was

Okfuskee headmen got involved and sought to repair their town's historic alliance with the British. Only weeks after the New Purchase killings, Coweta's Escotchaby, another one of the murderers, relayed a peace talk to Okfuskee's Mad Turkey. The talk explained why Houmatchla, Ochlulkee, and Escotchaby had killed the Ogeechee settlers. The Okfuskee headman forwarded the talk to officials at Fort Augusta, Georgia.[111] As Mad Turkey worked with Coweta, Emistisiguo dispatched a message[112] to Cussita in February to enlist that town's new mico in the resolution of the New Purchase crisis.[113] Two circumstances brought Little Tallassee and Cussita together. The Cussitas ultimately executed Ochlulkee in the summer, so Emistisiguo's decision to communicate explicitly with Cussita Mico might suggest that the two men shared kinship (Tiger) affiliation.[114] Secondly, Emistisiguo blamed Coweta for the New Purchase killings, probably because

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probably Beaver Tooth King. For Beaver Tooth King of "the Great Tallassies [Tallassee]," see Taitt, entry 3/16/1772, in *DAR*, ed. K. G. Davies (Dublin, IE: Irish University Press, 1974), 5:262; and editor's note, GFT, 542n113. In Wright to Stuart, 6/13/1774, Savannah, GFT, 146, "the Tallassies" unmistakably refers to Little Tallassee. Emistisiguo was frequently involved in negotiations, and he and the Second Man hosted a large meeting with Upper and Lower Creek towns to debate the murderers' fates. Thus, it is more than likely that Houmatchla and possibly the other murderers were clansmen of Emistisiguo rather than Tallassee Mico.

[111] Piker, *Okfuskee*, 127-130. Okfuskee's changing settlement patterns bolstered Coweta-Okfuskee ties. By 1772, Okfuskees had settled five *talofas* on the Chattahoochee River, near Coweta and Cussita. Okfuskees had also settled other villages, such as Sugatspoges and Elkhatchie, along the Tallapoosa (129).

[112] Emistisiguo, "A Talk from the Abekas, Tallapoosees and Alibamons, To the Cussitaws Pallachicolas Hitchitas and Cowetas &ca by Niaha [Thlucco] of the Little Tallassies," enclosed in Taitt to Stuart, 2/4/1774, Little Tallassee (?), CO5/75.

[113] The Choctaws killed the former Cussita Mico and fatally wounded his brother in a recent skirmish. See Taitt to Stuart, 1/12/1774, Little Tallassee, CO5/75.

[114] Stuart to Emistisiguo and Second Man, July 1774, enclosure 8, in Stuart to Dartmouth [?], 8/2/1774, CO5/75.

of Houmatchla's and Escotchaby's role in them. The Little Tallassee headman therefore had little reason to trust Coweta.[115]

Upper Creek headmen selected Emistisguo to contact the Lower Creeks via Cussita, so that all the Creek towns could pressure the British into restoring trade. Speaking on behalf of the "Abekas, Tallapoosees and Alibamons," Emistisiguo requested Cussita to convene the Lower towns, all of whom "are friend Towns" of the Upper Creeks, to discuss how best to apprehend the Creek outlaws. Harnessing the language of kinship, perhaps because he and some Cussita headmen shared kinship ties, Emistisiguo said, "I am the Master of the White Wing and of the Black Drink," and "when "the Cussitaws see this they will know that their youngest Brother has spoke to them to love their Women and Children, & not bring them into Poverty," an acknowledgement of the trade embargo. He transmitted a "wing, tobacco, and White Clay" to all the Lower towns via "the Cussitaw King and Succaigie [a Cussita?]." Emistisiguo addressed the wing "to the Cussitaw King" as a metaphor for "our Bodies," and Cussita Mico was to forward it to "the Lower Towns." Similarly, the "piece of Clay is heavy and is the Same as the Earth of our Square which is white, and this Chalk [clay?] is like our Bodies." Whenever the murderers could be apprehended, the Lower Creeks were to dispatch Emistisguo's wing, a symbol of peace, to "Captain Stuart."[116]

Mad Turkey's murder by a British colonist in late March 1774 amplified Emistisguo's influence among the Upper Creeks. By April, Little Tallassee was

[115] "Opaya, Mico Thlucco's [or Emistisiguo's]" talk to Stuart, enclosed in Taitt to Stuart, 2/4/1774, Little Tallassee (?), CO5/75.

[116] Emistisiguo, "A Talk from the Abekas . . . To the Cussitaws . . ." in Taitt to Stuart, 2/4/1774, Little Tallassee, CO5/75.

conducting diplomacy on Okfuskee's behalf. On April 14, the Creeks parleyed with Governor Wright in Savannah. During the conference, Emistisiguo discussed the political position of the Abeika towns, and, by implication, Ochlulkee.[117] Although a Tallapoosa, Emistisiguo narrated the Abeikas' role in the Anglo-Creek alliance. Explaining that Okfuskee was a prominent British ally and remained so despite Ochlulkee's actions, the leader said that "the Abecas is a very Ancient Town [referring to Okfuskee] and Were Allways Firm Friends to the English." Addressing Anglo-Creek ties, Emistisiguo related that Okfuskee's "Great Men Allways told Them [the Creeks] to Hold the White People Fast by the Hand, And that he was determined to do so." With that in mind, he hoped the embargo would be rescinded.[118]

On May 23 or 24, headmen from "every" major Creek town (twenty-six total) assembled for a National Council meeting convened by Emistisiguo and Second Man in Little Tallassee. There, they agreed to execute the outlaws in the hopes that Britain would resume trade. Unfortunately, the murderers caught wind of the decision and, as Wright reported to Stuart, "were gone off with two more to guard them."[119] By July, however, the Cussitas had "shot" Ochlulkee, who lingered four days before expiring. As

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[117] For Okfuskee as an Abeika town, see Courtonne, List of Headmen of the Creeks, October 1758, in Box 8, *WHLP*.

[118] More accurately, he hoped trade "would not be Quite Stop't." Emistisiguo spoke after Captain Aleck and a headman named Santiago. For the April meeting, see Wright and Creeks, 4/14/1774, Savannah, GFT, 140-141. Possibly, the "very Ancient Town" referred to the prominent Abeika towns of Coosa or Aubecooche. But in the context of the New Purchase murders, the involvement of Ochlulkee in it, Mad Turkey's recent death, and historic Anglo-Okfuskee (see Piker, *Okfuskee*, especially 15-74), Okfuskee seems the more likely choice.

[119] Wright to Stuart, 6/13/1774, Savannah, GFT, 146. Wright generated his report to Stuart based on a letter he received on June 11, probably from "Murneac." Murneac was the interpreter for the Little Tallassee conference, writing the letter "by Direction of Emistisiguo and the Second Man, dated at Little Tallassies the 26 of May." For meeting date, see editor's note, GFT, 521n12.

he lay dying, Ochlulkee "desired his Relations to revenge his Death on the Virginians [British]," rather than on the Cussitas, "and not give out untill everyone of his Relations should fall."[120] Ochlulkee acknowledged Britain's extreme pressure on the Creeks to execute the ringleaders, explaining why he wanted to redirect clan vengeance towards the British interlopers.

If clan allegiance shaped Ochlulkee's attitudes towards the British, then so did the headmen who authorized his execution. In detail, Emistisiguo and other headmen executed him within the logic of clan law. Although intra-clan punishment was rare and controversial, responsibility for disciplining a clansman ultimately lay with the clan.[121] Emistisiguo and other Tigers were therefore responsible for punishing Ochlulkee, a Tiger, so as to avoid reprisals towards any non-Tiger executioners. In fact, the Cussita executioners or at least Cussita Mico may have been Tigers. In February, recall, Emistisiguo requested the Cussitas and Cussita Mico to handle the executions. By specifically addressing them and by doing so with kinship language, Emistisiguo was likely contacting fellow Tigers. Moreover, Tiger headmen probably discussed the details of the planned executions at Little Tallassee's May conference. Afterwards, they informed Stuart of that decision. Additionally, Okfuskee presumably consented to the agreement, for after Ochlulkee's execution, any potential Okfuskee warriors sharing

[120] For month of Ochlulkee's death, see Stuart to Emistisiguo and Second Man, July 1774, enclosure 8, in Stuart to Dartmouth [?], 8/2/1774, CO5/75. For details of execution, "shot," and "desired," see Taitt to Stuart, 7/7/1774, Augusta, enclosure 10, in Stuart to Dartmouth [?], 8/2/1774, CO5/75. Taitt wrote that "Ochtulkie was shot by the Cussita People, and lived four Days after he received the Wound." For the Cussitas being tasked with killing "four Men" though the Lower Creeks were prodded by an agent of George Galphin to spare the three others, see Taitt to Stuart, 7/18/1774, Augusta, GFT, 150-151.

[121] Braund, *Deerskins*, 155-156, 162 (Ochlulkee as a "Tyger"); Piker, *Okfuskee*, 59, 62-63. Piker points out that in rare cases, "intraclan capital punishment" did occur (59).

kinship ties to Ochlulkee did not retaliate on the Cussitas.[122] In fact, Cussita and Okfuskee maintained amicable relations.[123]

Ties of kinship continued to stabilize Anglo-Creek diplomacy, as they had during the French and Indian War. The New Purchase crisis demonstrates that headmen cautiously navigated the labrinth of clan identity to forge coalitions, conduct good relations with the British, and maintain peace within their own society. Yet, the British did not agree to restore trade until the Creeks executed the remaining murderers. So, in August, nine Okfuskees led by Cujesse Mico traveled to Augusta to meet with Wright and Stuart. He addressed a talk to them reminding them that the Creeks had executed one of the murderers (an Okfuskee, no less), and that the British had failed to compensate the Okfuskees for the death of Mad Turkey, Cujesse Mico's uncle, that previous March.[124] Cujesse Mico underscored Okfuskee's loyalty to the British in past decades. Speaking on behalf of the Abeika towns, he explained that "Formerly the Oakfuskies and Charlestown were one Fire," and that "we hope they will always continue as one, although at present

[122] Avoiding execution, Houmatchla took up Ochlulkee's call to arms against the British, recruited at least three Indians, and declared that "he is Coming" to the Upper Trading Path "to Kill White men"; see Samuel Thomas (an interpreter for the Lower Creeks) to Taitt, 12/10/1774, Flint River, CO5/76.

[123] In the fall of 1777, a group of Okfuskees and Cussitas traveled to Charleston to negotiate with the American rebels. John Stuart to Germain, 10/6/1777, Pensacola, CO5/79. Handsome Fellow led the Okfuskees in this delegation.

[124] For talk, see "Cujesse Mico" and other Abeika headmen to Stuart and Wright, "Delivered" to "Augusta 23rd August 1774," GFT, 151-152. For Nine Okfuskees, including Cujesse Mico, see Taitt to Stuart, 8/26/1774, Augusta, CO5/75. Cujesse Mico and other Creek chiefs may have met with Wright, Stuart, and Habersham on August 20, although that remains unconfirmed. It seems certain that Taitt recorded the talk on August 23 in Augusta (GFT, 125, 522n18). For Mad Turkey's death, see Piker, *Okfuskee*, 68-69. He had been killed around late March by "a White Man" named Thomas Fee in Augusta, and sometime in March 1774, "some White Men" killed a Creek named "Elk"; Wright and Creeks, 4/14/1774, Savannah, GFT, 138. For Thomas Fee, see Braund, *Deerskins*, 162.

there seems to be some Difference between us but we want Peace." Cujesse invoked the death of his uncle as leverage but then backed away from the issue: "I am not come with a bad Talk for my near Relation that fell at this Place some time ago." Rather, he requested the pardon of his uncle's killer in exchange for the resumption of trade. The Abeikas desperately needed goods, for "we are now very poor for Goods and the Hunting Season near at Hand." Nor should the "Upper Towns" be held responsible for Houmatchla, a Coweta, who was on the lam. "Neither the Abicas, Tallapuses nor Alibamas," he informed Wright and Stuart, "desire to have any Thing to say to the Cowetas, but desire Peace." Therefore, they "think it hard to Suffer on their [Cowetas'] Account."[125]

By October 1774, the Creeks had executed two additional murderers, for a total of three.[126] Although Wright demanded that the Creeks execute a total of five murderers, the British partially resumed trade by late 1774. In September 1775, nearly two years after the New Purchase killings, the Upper Creeks persuaded the British to exonerate the remaining two murderers, including Houmatchla of Coweta. Clan law shaped the Upper Creeks' reasoning. Upper Creeks asked Taitt to request Stuart to "forgive Houmachta on account of the mad Turkey."[127] Handsome Fellow may have floated this request, for in early November, he traveled to Georgia as spokesperson for Mad Turkey's kin.

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[125] "Cujesse Mico" to Stuart and Wright, "Delivered" to "Augusta 23rd August 1774," GFT, 151-152. The headman represented, for instance, Okchai, Hillabee, Kialegee, Upper Eufaula, and of course Okfuskee.

[126] In the Treaty of Savannah of October 1774, the Creeks were instructed to "put to Death Five of the Leaders" of the New Purchase killings. The secretary wrote that the Creeks "have actually put three of the Offenders to Death," including Ochlulkee. Two—"Howmahta and Sopia"—escaped. See Treaty of Savannah, 10/20/1774, Savannah, GFT, 154. I am unable to determine whether the Cussitas executed the two additional murderers.

[127] Taitt to John Stuart, 9/20/1775, Little Tallassee, no enclosure, CO5/77.

Handsome Fellow pled with Wright to spare Houmatchla's life in exchange for promising Wright that Mad Turkey's kin would not avenge the late headman. With the Revolutionary crisis consuming Georgia's affairs, Wright had little choice but to consent to Handsome Fellow.[128]

By securing a pardon for Houmatchla, Handsome Fellow pulled a fast one. Strictly speaking, the Creeks owed Britain a life. Although Mad Turkey's death may have atoned for Houmatchla's, Wright technically had grounds to request the execution of the fifth remaining murderer, a person named Sopia.[129] Wright did not press the matter, nor did Handsome Fellow acknowledge it. In the context of the Creek-Choctaw War, headman like Handsome Fellow strove to preserve life and promote diplomacy. He probably knew, for instance, that Emistisiguo, a Tiger like Ochlulkee, barely survived a bullet wound during a Choctaw raid near his town a year earlier.[130] The trick for headmen was to minimize violence against the British by carefully manipulating webs of kinship across Creek society.

At long last, in 1776, the Creeks and Choctaws reconciled. Just as Cussita Mico assisted in the execution of Ochlulkee, so he helped the Upper Creeks broker a peace with their enemy. In September, "the King of the Cussitas went up to the upper Creeks to meet the Chactaws that is come in with the peace Talk."[131] Negotiations bore fruit, for in October Upper Creek and Choctaw headmen convened with Superintendent Stuart in

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[128] James Wright to Stuart (?), 11/16/1775, Savannah, enclosed in Stuart to Dartmouth (?), CO5/77. Handsome Fellow hoped to pardon Houmatchla "in the room of" Mad Turkey.

[129] For Sopia, see John Stuart to Dartmouth, 7/21/1775, St. Augustine, CO5/76.

[130] Emistisiguo suffered this wound on November 12, 1774 (editor's note, GFT, 369).

[131] Samuel Thomas to Stuart, 9/19/1776, Cussita, CO5/78.

Pensacola to conduct peace ceremonies. Like Charles before him, John Stuart became a neutral third party. Observing the headmen, Stuart wrote that each side had "a white Flagg as an Emblem of Peace and were highly painted. They halted about 300 yards distance from each other their principal Chiefs singing the Peace Song and waving Eagle Tails and Swans Wings," symbols of peace, "over their heads." After practicing these rituals, headmen "advance[d] slowly when at a Signal given a Number of young men sallied out from each party and made a sham fight in the Space between them." Finally, "both parties met, and after saluting each other," they "joined hands" before Stuart. Next, the men entered Stuart's "house, and delivered into my hands two War Clubs painted Red as the last Ceremony of laying down their Arms; which I promised to burry very deep in the Earth."[132] With Cussita's and Britain's mediation, Creek and Choctaw warriors concluded a brutal ten-year war in the Native South.

In late July 1777, a delegation of seventeen Choctaws visited Little Tallassee. The headmen probably selected Emistisiguo's town since he had been the Choctaws' major contact during the peace overtures of the early 1770s. Sadly, Emistisiguo had died prior to this visit. Among the Choctaw delegates were Franchimastabé, "Small Medal chief of Yassou [Yazoo], Capitan Houma, Taboca [of Congeetoo], & Testonnaco Mingo." They exchanged amicable words with the townspeople and "engaged to give the Creeks assistance [in the Revolutionary War] if they should stand in need of it." Postwar diplomatic visits were typical of Southern Indian diplomacy, so the Choctaws invited the Upper Creeks to Choctaw country at some future point. The Choctaws wanted their hosts

[132] Stuart to George Germain, 10/26/1776, Pensacola, CO5/78. About thirty "Principal Chactaws" attended.

to know that "no doubt or Supposition might remain on the minds of the young people of either Nation," and "that their professions of Friendship were Sincere."[133]

From 1766 to 1776, the Creek-Choctaw War took shape through the rhythms of clan and town affiliation in Creek society. Although the war arose from economic factors and those relating to elite authority, the instability of town and clan membership sustained the violence for ten grueling years. Among the Tallapoosas, towns and families rejuvenated community customs in the attempt to stabilize their world. On the other hand, the families and townspeople of Cuscowilla reinterpreted martial rituals to wage war on the Choctaws. Furthermore, the law of retaliation intensified warfare. When a Creek perished in battle or a town raid, female clan leaders exhorted the male warriors to avenge the kinsperson's death. As a result, retaliation prompted a continual cycle of violence, sending hundreds of Creeks and Choctaws to their death. The law of retaliation bound Creek headmen to clan law, which thwarted the peace initiates crafted by the very same headmen, such as Emistisiguo and Mortar. As "warrior-diplomats," Creek elites endangered the towns and provinces they were tasked protecting when they launched a revenge raid against the enemy. In Anglo-British relations, however, headmen like Handsome Fellow and Emistisiguo followed their predecessors by forging provincial and interregional coalitions that repaired Anglo-Creek ties. Headmen consolidated those coalitions with the peaceful tools of kinship.

During intertribal wars, Indians relied heavily on their clan and town allegiaces. For the Creeks, this reality was a liability, because it forced them to retreat inward and

[133] Taitt to Stuart, 8/3/1777, Little Tallassee, CO5/78.

subsequently negotiate with the British from an increasing position of weakness. As Michael Green pointed out in 1982, the Creeks ceded land to the British in five of six Anglo-Creek conferences between 1763 and 1773.[134] Although Creek dependence on British trade accounted for those cessions, especially the New Purchase Cession, so did the Creek-Choctaw War. What is more, this chapter complements O'Brien's contention that Native elites goaded their young and hot-headed warriors to attack a Native enemy, since I argue that clan and town affiliations engulfed Creek "warrior-diplomats" in violence. Even if they persuaded their warriors to fight the Choctaws, Creek warrior-diplomats failed to gain control of the community allegiances that pulled them into war, sparking a contradictory cycle of violence and diplomacy.[135]

Moreover, I suggest that since clans and towns immersed the Creeks in local concerns, Creeks leveraged their connections to the Western Indian Confederacy to instill peace in the war-torn Native South, not to join the Shawnees and Delawares in anti-British resistance.[136] John Stuart correctly remarked to General Haldimand in January 1771 that "the continuation [of] the war between them [Creeks and Choctaws] may tend to defeat the schemes of the Western Confederacy & prevent the disaffected Creeks from joining them."[137] Still, Stuart failed to grasp what caused the "continuation" of this war: clans and towns that advanced coalition-building, diplomacy, and violence all at once.

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[134] Green, *Politics*, 30.

[135] O'Brien, "Protecting Trade through War," in *Pre-Removal*, ed. O'Brien, 103-109, 114-115.

[136] See Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, xiii, xxi-xxii, 16-22, 35-40.

[137] Stuart to Haldimand, 1/23/1771, BMAM, #21672, Part 1.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

American Patriots declared their independence from the British Empire in July 1776, while British Loyalists proclaimed their allegiance to the Crown. In the midst of the Revolutionary War, the Americans and British courted the loyalty and assistance of some fifteen-thousand Creeks whose strategic geopolitical position in the Southeast made them a formidable friend (or foe). Although Creeks preferred neutrality, warfare brought trade to a halt, forcing the Creeks to keep trade flowing by allying with both the British and American contestants. In the Treaty of Paris 1783, America emerged victorious and inherited Britain's claim to eastern North America. By the doctrine of the right of conquest, America declared suzerainty over those Native lands lying east of the Mississippi River. For its part, Georgia coveted all Creek hunting grounds east of the Oconee River. Georgia gained that contested region in the Oconee Cession of 1783, leading one coalition ofCreeks to ally with the Spanish. In turn, the Spanish became a counterweight to the expansion of the United States in the postwar period.

Scholars studying the Creeks during the American Revolution fall into two camps. Those like Kathryn E. Holland Braund argue that Creek society was decentralized and thereby liable to factionalism and division. She contends, for instance,

that the "pro-British" Upper Creeks, led by Little Tallassee's Alexander McGillivray, traded with the British, while "pro-American" Lower Creeks cultivated ties with the rebel Americans. According to Braund, these factions emerged from an "ill-defined" decentralized Creek society.[1] By contrast, Claudio Saunt and Steven Hahn argue that in the colonial period Creek society underwent a process of centralization. For them, a Creek "nation" gradually took shape in the revolutionary and post-revolutionary eras. They argue that the incubus of nationalization/centralization was the Creek National Council. Saunt is perhaps the most vocal proponent of late-eighteenth-century nationalization. He argues that the advent of capitalism in Creek society engendered a minority class of market-oriented headmen, such as McGillivray, who accumulated

[1] For the Revolution's impact on eastern Native Americans, see Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), xi-xvi, 26-64, 272-291. For Creek experiences during and after the Revolution, see Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (1993; repr., Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 164-175; and Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 38-63, 67-135. For a still reliable examination of the Southern Indians in this war, see James H. O'Donnell III, "The Southern Indians in the War for American Independence, 1775-1783," in *Four Centuries of Southern Indians*, ed. Charles M. Hudson (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1975), 46-64. For the doctrine of the "right of conquest," Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*, 2nd ed. (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005), 7-8. Braund, *Deerskins*, 139-141, 159-163, 164-175, 139 ("ill-defined"). Braund writes that a "loosely structured, ill-defined collection of independent towns" generated factions in the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary period (139). For other examples of decentralization, see Michael D. Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 31-35; and Angela Pulley Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves and the Making of the American South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 37-90. Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 26-64, also argues that the tumult of Revolution engendered division within Native villages and towns.

wealth and property in land and slaves. Wealth enhanced their authority and, according to Saunt, allowed them to coordinate and dictate national policy.[2]

This chapter challenges the centralization and decentralization schools by arguing that the British, American, and Spanish competition for Creek loyalties stimulated town-based political organization both within and across the Creek provinces. The Creeks became not centralized but highly organized so as to navigate the dangerous waters of revolution, but not without privileging townspeoples' participation in political affairs. Although headmen occasionally used the term "Nation" when addressing the Euro-Americans, their political actions at the ground level suggest that townspeople and their leaders foremost promoted the interests of their towns. Still, although towns had the prerogative to act in isolation, most preferred to cultivate peace and trade with the Euro-Americans as coalitions. Those coalitions spun political webs across Creek society and united an otherwise shifting composition of towns. Coalitions ebbed and flowed according to town interests, which forestalled the growth of a centralized Creek "nation."

By contending that the Creeks organized into coalitions rather than centralized units or decentralized towns, this chapter makes the significant point that politics shaped diplomacy. I therefore piece together and trace the process of revolutionary coalition-building and identify the leadership.[3] Put another way, I track the Revolution from Creek

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[2] For the "nation" argument, see Steven C. Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 110-120, 274-275. For an explanation of the Council's functions, see Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 105-106. Ethridge notes, however, that the Council's authority was usually hamstrung by local customs (107-108). For Council centralization, see Saunt, *New Order*, 67-135, and Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 37-65.

[3] Joshua Piker, *Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004) studies the institution of the Creek town but excludes cross-town

political perspectives and political change at the community level. In 1775 and 1776, the Lower Creeks debated their options with respect to the European powers and gradually formed a relationship with the Americans. Countering the Lower Creeks, in late May 1777 Mad Dog of Tuckabatchee and Emistisiguo of Little Tallassee formed the *Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee coalition* with several Abeika, Tallapoosa, and Alabama towns. Although largely Upper Creek-based, the coalition featured leadership from the Lower Creek town of Coweta, too. Tame King of Tallassee and Handsome Fellow of Okfuskee disagreed with that decision, so they forged a coalition with Fat King of Cussita. The *Cussita-Tallassee coalition* partnered with the Lower Creek towns, specifically the Hitchiti-speaking towns, such as Apalachicola, Chehaw, and Hitchiti Town (Figure 10, Table 4).

Each coalition inaugurated a new generation of Creek leadership following the Creek-Choctaw War and French and Indian War. After Mortar died in 1774, Mad Dog emerged as a skilled politician and diplomat among the Upper Creeks.[4] He partnered with Emistisiguo, who remained an influential war leader among the Upper Creeks, as well as with Red Shoes of Coosada, an Alabama town. Together these headmen and Sempeyoffee of Coweta maintained the Anglo-Creek trading relationship, which the Americans tried to undermine. After the Revolution, Mad Dog appointed the young and

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networks in Creek country. Bryan Rindfleisch, "'Our Lands Are Our Life and Breath': Coweta, Cusseta, and the Struggle for Creek Territory and Sovereignty during the American Revolution," *Ethnohistory* 60:4 (Fall 2013): 581-603, has begun to tease out the inter-town ties of Coweta and Cussita during the Revolution.

[4] Editor's note, *Georgia and Florida Treaties, 1763-1776*, ed. John T. Juricek, in vol. 12 of *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789*, ed. Alden T. Vaughan (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 2002), 369.

literate McGillivray to spearhead an alliance with Spanish Florida, though Mad Dog and other coalition leaders seem to have worked behind-the-scenes to influence McGillivray's diplomacy. Although Tallassee had long been a powerful Upper Creek town, Tame King burst onto the international stage in 1777 and pursued ties with the Americans until the mid-1780s. Assisting him in that endeavor was Fat King, who may have been a new and relatively young Cussita leader. Together, Tame King and Fat King coordinated Creek-American diplomacy with Okfuskee and numerous Lower Creek towns along the Chattahoochee River.

This chapter makes an additional contribution to the revolutionary and post-revolutionary historiography on Creeks: political organization enabled the Creeks to survive a dangerous era relatively unscathed. Scholars have overlooked that significant achievement.[5] While the Americans destroyed numerous Cherokee towns during the Revolution, for the most part the Creeks suffered very little violence from Euro-Americans.[6] This resulted from the ability of Creek coalitions to block Euro-American expansion into Creek society. Moreover, headmen's peace-keeping efforts may have helped suppress the law of retaliation that had triggered perpetual violence during the Creek-Choctaw War. Although I have located only sporadic references to the impact of clans on Creek political networking during this era, the available evidence suggests that

[5] By asserting that Creeks divided into "pro-British," "pro-Spanish," or "pro-American" factions, scholars have glossed over the ways in which Creeks preserved peace within Creek towns by way of coalition-building. See, for example, Green, *Politics*, 31-35; Braund, *Deerskins*, 164-175; and Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 37-90.

[6] Calloway, *American Revolution*, 197-198, 204, 211.

in the revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods, Creek headmen leveraged their clan affiliations to foster coalition unity and maintain peace with Euro-Americans.[7]

[7] The Creeks did participate in battles and skirmishes outside of their towns, especially along the Gulf Coast, but the extent to which the law of retaliation motivated that participation is presently unknown. For Southern Indian military contributions during the Revolution, see Greg O'Brien, "The Choctaw Defense of Pensacola in the American Revolution," in *Pre-Removal Choctaw History: Exploring New Paths*, ed. Greg O'Brien (1999; repr., Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008): 123-147, here 124-125, 133, 139-140. Jim Piecuch has shown that Southern Loyalists, Indians, and slaves made deliberate and effective contributions to the British war effort in East and West Florida, South Carolina, and Georgia. Specifically, many Creeks and Cherokees provided military support for the British provincial army in South Carolina and Georgia. Although most British officers coolly dismissed the efficacy of Native warriors, Loyalist militia captain Patrick Ferguson, for instance, readily admitted that Native raiding exerted a devastating psychological impact on American frontier communities and helped the British gain strategic footholds in those areas. See Jim Piecuch, *Three Peoples, One King: Loyalists, Indians, and Slaves in the Revolutionary South, 1775-1782* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2008), 258, 270. See p. 204 for the Creek and Choctaw defense of British West Florida from rebel invasion. See, too, O'Donnell III, "Southern Indians," in *Four Centuries*, ed. Hudson, 46-64.

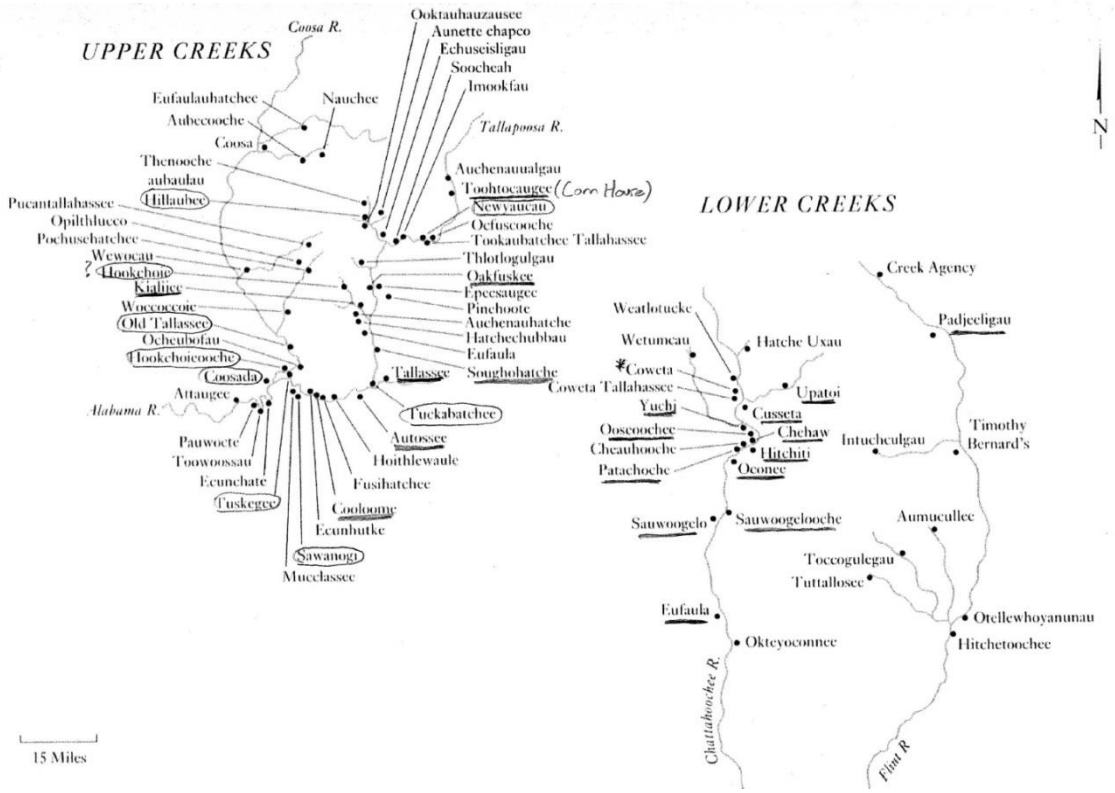

Figure 10. Creek Coalitions during the American Revolution. The Cussita-Tallassee coalition enveloped the underlined towns, and the Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee coalition encompassed the circled towns. Denoted by an asterisk, Coweta had one foot in each camp. (Note: I prefer Little Tallassee for "Old Tallassee," Okchai for "Hookchoie," and Little Okchai for "Hookchoieooche.") For corresponding table, see Table 4 below. *Source*: Map copied from Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), p. 29 (Figure 2). Additional markings are mine. For "Corn House," a village of Okfuskee, see "Toohtocaugee," in "A sketch of the Creek Country in the years 1798 and 1799," in *Letters, Journals and Writings of Benjamin Hawkins*, ed. C. L. Grant (Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, 1980), 1:303.

In early April 1775, perhaps days before the Revolutionary War erupted in Concord, Massachusetts, the Lower Creek towns discussed how the looming conflict affected them. David Taitt reported that "all the Head Men from the Cussitas to Euffallies [i.e., Eufaula]" had assembled at that time in Apalachicola for a political assembly that featured an "Acorn Dance." These were the core Lower Creek towns that inhabited the Chattahoochee watershed, ranging from Cussita to the Hitchiti towns of Eufaula and Apalachicola.[8] During the assembly, the Lower Creeks decided to reject overtures from the Spanish, with whom Escotchaby, a Coweta headman, had struck an alliance during a recent embassy to Havana, Cuba. Unlike Escotchaby, most Lower Creek towns agreed with Cussita Mico Blue Salt, the Chehaw Warrior, and Pumpkin King of Ouseechee that the Lowers Creeks should side with John Stuart and report Spain's activities to him.[9] Blue Salt also rejected American advancements. In an August

[8] Those of the seventeenth-century Apalachicola chiefdom were probably Hitchiti speakers, although "this is not known for certain." See Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 28. Hall, Jr., *Zamumo's Gifts*, 78, believes that the Apalachicolas were likely Hitchitis. John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1922), (as part of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 73), does not specify the language spoken in Lower Eufaula (262-263), though it was likely Hitchiti.

[9] David Taitt to John Stuart, 4/14/1775, location uncertain, Vol. 76, in *Records of the British Colonial Office, Class 5 Files: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783, The Board of Trade, The French and Indian War*, ed. Randolph Boehm, (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1983) (hereafter CO/5). Taitt also wrote that no headmen from "the Cowetas and the Towns below the Forks [Seminoles]" attended the Apalachicola meeting.

For Chehaw and Cussita as "peace" towns, regarded as sacrosanct places that granted asylum to criminals, see Braund, *Deerskins*, 141. John T. Juricek, *Colonial Georgia and the Creeks: Anglo-Indian Diplomacy on the Southern Frontier, 1733-1763* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2010), 3, writes that Chehaw was a war town. For Cussita as a white town, see Steven C. Hahn, "The Cussita Migration Legend: History, Ideology, and the Politics of Mythmaking," in *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians*, ed. Thomas J. Pluckhahn and Robbie Ethridge (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2006), 57-93, here 88. According to traveler William Bartram, "Hooseche" spoke the "Muscog. tongue"; see William Bartram, "Travels Through North & South Carolina . . .," 1791, in *William*

message to Stuart, Blue Salt remarked that he did "not think of throwing off his old Friends [the British] for the sake of New people [i.e., the Americans] who he did not know." The mico preferred to trade with the British, whose "beloved man," meaning Taitt, "has lived among us" as a trustworthy ally.[10]

Bartram on the Southeastern Indians, ed. Gregory A. Waselkov and Kathryn E. Holland Braund (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 109.

[10] Cussita Mico to John Stuart, about August 1775, in *Georgia and Florida Treaties, 1763-1776*, ed. John T. Juricek, in vol. 12 of *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789*, ed. Alden T. Vaughan (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 2002), 168-169, 528n71 (hereafter, GFT). For "Bleu Sault" as "King of Cussitaws," see Lower Creeks to John Stuart, 9/29/1775, Cussita, GFT, 178.

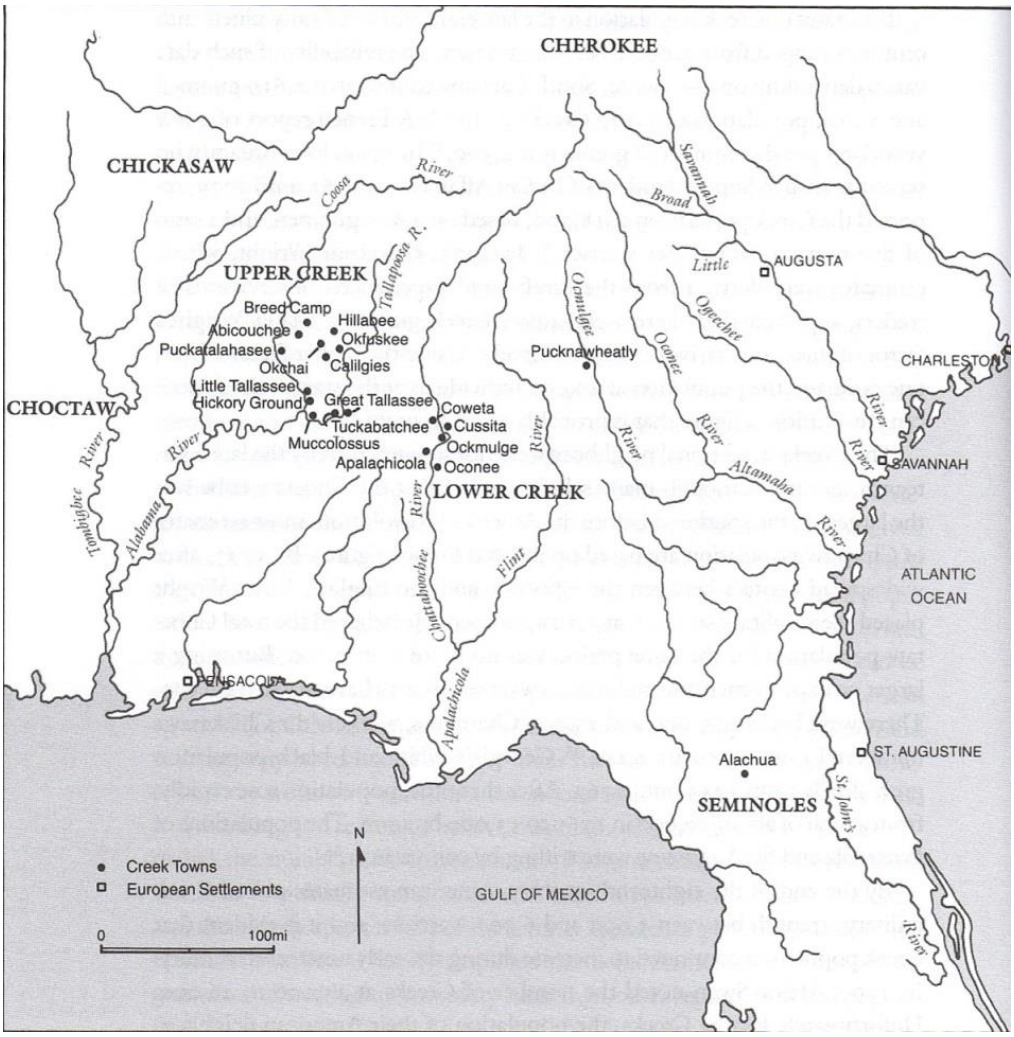

Figure 11. Major Rivers in the Native South. The Oconee watershed became a hotly contested terrain in the 1780s, as Creeks and Georgians staked claims to it. *Source*: Map photocopied from Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (1993; repr., Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), p. 10.

By September, however, Lower Creek towns formally adopted a neutral stance in the war. In that month, members of Cussita, Ouseechee, Chehaw, and Coweta (minus Escotchaby) met in Cussita, where a Coweta speaker (*yatika*) remarked that "All the chief head Ruleing men of the whole lower Creeks are now here and is all as one." Speaking for the Lower Creek towns, the speaker informed Stuart, known as "the great Beloved man," that the Americans and British must "settle the matter yourselves and [we] will be glad to hear the differences settled and all at peace again."[11]

The Lower Creeks wanted to keep trading with the British, however, for headmen viewed the Americans and British as "one people" who ought to keep "our old white tradeing Road" to the east open.[12] Unfortunately, Stuart notified them in December 1775 that the Americans had confiscated British "Goods, Arms and Ammunition" earmarked for Creek country.[13] The Hitchiti towns grew skeptical of Stuart, and in March 1776, when Cussita hosted "The Headmen of all the Lower Towns," the Hitchitis abstained from the meeting. The "Head Warrior" of Cussita spoke for the remaining Lower towns, informing Stuart that they desired trade from British-held Pensacola since the "Trading Paths [to the American colonies] are shut up." The assembled towns sent a "Wing and

[11] Lower Creeks to John Stuart, 9/29/1775, "Cussitaw Square," Samuel Thomas interpreting, GFT, 177-178. Two "Indians" were supposed to carry the talk to Stuart, who had recently fled to St. Augustine for his safety. Hallowing King of Coweta may have been the *yatika*.

[12] Lower Creeks to Stuart, 9/29/1775, "Cussitaw Square," GFT, 177-178.

[13] John Stuart to Lower Creeks, 12/4/1775, Cowford (modern Jacksonville, FL), GFT, 493-494. Headmen from five Lower Creek towns attended his talk (450). On December 8, Pumpkin King of Ouseechee and Kaligie, Chehaw's "head Warrior," met with Patrick Tonyn (498, 572n56).

Tobacco as a token of Friendship and desire that the Beloved Men [British officials] will Smoak the tobacco and look at the Wing and Agree to each others Talk."[14]

But by May, most Lower Creeks echoed the Hitchitis' skeptical stance towards the Stuart. Around May 1, Taitt met with the headmen of "all the lower Creeks" in Chehaw, a Hitchiti town. Taitt was dismayed to learn that headmen intended to meet the Americans in Augusta, Georgia. Despite Taitt's protests, some two hundred Creeks left for Augusta, where on May 16, the first Creek-American conference was underway.[15] Four commissioners hosted the proceedings, including prominent deerskin traders George Galphin and John Rea. Nitigee, the "Head-Warrior" of Chowagla (Little Coweta), represented "all the other Head Men and Warriors of the Nation who are present." In his address to the commissioners, Nitigee repeatedly accused Taitt of dishonesty, saying that the deputy agent had "given out sundry very bad talks" that goaded the Creeks to kill Americans. Unfortunately, Georgia refused to supply trade goods to the assembled headmen, prompting Nitigee to reply politely that he was glad to see Galphin and Rea.[16]

Though Creeks met the Americans primarily to establish trade relations, Creek kinship practices framed the meeting. For one, Nitigee possibly shared clan affiliation with Galphin, who was married to Metawney, a Coweta woman. By the 1770s, Galphin

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[14] Lower Creeks to John Stuart, 3/23/1776, Cussita, GFT, 181-182.

[15] For Taitt's conference in "Chihaw Town," see Thomas Brown to Patrick Tonyn, 5/2/1776, Chehaw, GFT, 502. In a letter to John Stuart, Taitt wrote that "Some of the headmen (vizt. the Handsome Fellow [of Okfuskee], Beaver Tooth King [possibly of Tallassee], Chavacley Warrior [i.e., Nitigee] and some others, in all not exceeding two hundred) went to a meeting at Augusta" in May 1776. For Taitt's letter, see Taitt to Stuart, 7/7/1776, in *Revolution and Confederation*, ed. Colin G. Calloway, in vol. 18 of *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789*, ed. Alden T. Vaughan (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1994), 212 (hereafter, RC). GFT, 542n113 (for Beaver Tooth King of Tallassee).

[16] Augusta conference, 5/16/1776, GFT, 184-185; for Nitigee's identity, see 517n45.

and Metawney had three children, Judith, John, and George.[17] Furthermore, Cussita adopted Galphin and Rea as fictive kin, probably because that town, according to Nitigee, was one of "the leading Towns of the Creek Nation." Cussita's Captain Aleck was the intermediary in this process. He closed the Augusta conference by reading a message addressed from Cussita Mico to the commissioners. Cussita Mico pledged to support an alliance with America and adopt "Messrs. [commissioners George] Galphin and [John] Rae not only as my Elder brothers but as my father and mother."[18] Headmen commonly addressed European officials as "brothers," a term of equality between two peoples, and as "fathers," a sign of respect for statesmen who were expected to present gifts and supply trade goods to their Indian "children." Unlike one's brother or father, however, one's mother possessed authority in the matrilineal societies of the Native South.[19] By adopting the commissioners as brother, father, *and* mother, Cussita Mico invoked unusually expansive kinship language to solidify the Creek-American alliance, with the goal of securing trade.

Cussita's adoption of the Georgia commissioners required that they, as adoptees, look after American and Cussita interests. So when conflict erupted in August or September of 1776 and "the Rebels" killed a Cussita, Galphin and Rea were obligated to compensate their Cussita adopters. The Cussita's death "exasperated that Town beyond measure" and rendered the Cussitas distrustful of Georgia. British assistant agent

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[17] Michael P. Morris, *George Galphin and the Transformation of the Georgia-South Carolina Backcountry* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Book, 2015), 26.

[18] Augusta conference, 5/19/1776, GFT, 190.

[19] For a gendered analysis of Southern diplomacy, see Michelle LeMaster, *Brothers Born of One Mother: British-Native American Relations in the Colonial Southeast* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2012), esp. 3-12, 15-50.

Thomas Brown reported to Stuart that "Fool Harry[,] Cussita Billy[,] Omatah & some others of the same Stamp have mentioned in public that they have thrown away the Virginians [Americans] & [propose] to hold you fast."[20] Likely members of the slain Cussita's clan, they contemplated taking vengeance on the Georgia frontier. In the attempt to sway the aggrieved Cussitas, Galphin fulfilled his role as adoptee. In early 1777, twelve Cussitas met him at his planation in Silver Bluff, South Carolina, where he gave them "very large presents." An experienced trader and knowledgeable of Creek culture, Galphin understood that gifts helped atone for past offenses. According to Superintendent Stuart's report, the Cussitas returned home satisfied.[21]

To counter Lower Creek overtures to Georgia, the Upper Creeks engineered the Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee coalition. It took shape on May 30, 1777, when Upper Creek leaders gathered at Little Tallassee.[22] There, headmen decided to send a "large body of their people against" the Georgians late in the summer. Although the records contain no information about the identities of these headmen, a report from Taitt indicates that Mad Dog founded the coalition. Taitt reported that following the May 30 meeting McGillivray arrived in Little Tallassee with a communiqué from Sempeyoffee of Coweta. Addressed to Mad Dog, Sempeyoffee's message "requir[ed]" the Tuckabatchee headman

[20] Thomas Brown to John Stuart, 9/29/1776, Chehaw, CO5/78.

[21] John Stuart to George Germain, 3/10/1777, Pensacola, CO5/78.

[22] Emistisiguo and, later, McGillivray helped lead this coalition. McGillivray was a Koasati, while Emistisiguo was probably a Tallapoosa. For McGillivray, see Linda Langley, "The Tribal Identity of Alexander McGillivray: A Review of the Historical and Ethnographic Data," *Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 46:2 (Spring 2005): 231-239, here 237-239. Although in 1758, Little Tallassee was listed as an Abeika town (Courtonne, "List of Headmen," Box 8, WHLP), it was most likely part of the Tallapoosa province. In a talk to John Stuart in 1764, for instance, Emistisiguo said, "we Upper and Tallipussie Creeks are all here now present" in Little Tallassee (GFT, 212).

"to get the Warriors" of Tuckabatchee, Sawanogi, Coosada, and Okchai "to send out men immediately to their [Coweta's] assistance against" Georgia.[23] After consulting with Emistisiguo, Mad Dog left for Coosada, an Alabama town that lay downstream from Little Tallassee. In Coosada, Mad Dog "met the Chiefs" of the Alabama towns ("the Alibamas") and the Koasati towns ("Tuckegee and Coosada"), who "agreed to Join him" in the proposed frontier raid "whenever he was ready to lead them."[24] After meeting with the Alabamas and Koasatis, Mad Dog moved onto the Tallapoosa town of Sawanogi, who "agreed to go with him." (He apparently bypassed Okchai.) By June 5, the Tuckabatchee leader had gone "home . . . to muster his own people." Mad Dog's "design," as Taitt wrote to Stuart, "is to Carry out what he Can in a Body and afterwards disperse in small parties along the frontier in Order to keep the Georgians in play untill the main body of the Nation can turn out." That "main body" would not launch a coordinated attack until the 1780s, however.[25]

The Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee coalition may have tried to enlist support from other Southern Indian populations as well as the Western Indian Confederacy. During the May 30 meeting in Little Tallassee, the Upper Creeks queried Taitt about the status of a "Northward belt." The Creeks had tasked Superintendent Stuart with sending the belt "with their tokens through the Chactaws and Chickasaws." Like a diplomatic

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[23] David Taitt to John Stuart, 6/5/1777, Little Tallassee, CO5/78.

[24] Tuskegee and Coosada probably spoke the Koasati dialect; Sheri Marie Shuck-Hall, *Journey to the West: The Alabama and Coushatta Indians* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 31 and 215n60 (Tuskegee), 30-31 (Coosada). Yet, according to an April 15, 1772, journal entry by David Taitt, "The Inhabitants of the Tuskigees are a remnant of Northern Indians and speak a different Language from the Creeks." See Taitt, in *Travels*, ed. Mereness, 541.

[25] Taitt to Stuart, 6/5/1777, Little Tallassee, CO5/78.

boomerang, the belt was "to be forwarded through the different nations on the mississippi and Ohio untill [*sic*] it returns to the [Creek?] nation from whence it came with the Tokens of the different nations that takes hold of it." The Upper Creeks told Taitt that "if it is not already sent they desire . . . that [Stuart] will immediately forward it as they mean to Send in the Shawanee Warrior [from Sawanogi?] to the Northward nations to see how they stand affected and what part they have taken in" the Revolutionary War.[26] This international initiative coincided with Sempeyoffee's request that Mad Dog visit the Upper towns, suggesting that coalition leaders were looking to ally with non-Creeks against the Americans.

But some Upper Creek headmen defied the Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee coalition by opening a dialogue with Georgia. On June 17, 1777, a little more than two weeks after the Little Tallassee assembly, Upper Creek headmen from Tallassee and Okfuskee joined leaders from Cussita, Yuchi Town, and Apalachicola for a Creek-American conference along the Ogeechee River.[27] Georgia's commissioners opened the conference, informing the Creeks that the state possessed "Goods in Abundance" and promised to supply the Indians with goods in exchange for the protection of American traders who would travel to Creek country to open trade relations. The following day Tame King of Tallassee delivered the Creeks' reply. "This, Friends and Brethren," he began, "is the first Time I ever came to see the beloved men here." Remarkably, Tame King claimed to speak for the majority of Creek towns clustered along the Tallapoosa,

[26] Taitt to Stuart, 6/5/1777, Little Tallassee, Vol. 78, in *CO5*, ed. Boehm.

[27] William McIntosh, assistant commissary for the Lower Creeks, to Alexander Cameron, 7/6/77, "Thayealiskey's," Vol. 78, *CO5*, ed. Boehm. He wrote, "Cussitaws Utchies and Pallachucla People" attended "Galphins Treaty."

Coosa, and Chattahoochee Rivers. As he declared, "I am the Breath and Master of the Towns on the Three Rivers, Tallapussee, Coosahatchee and Otchsatchee [a corruption of Chattahoochee?]." "I am appointed to Speak for them," he told the commissioners, "and shall not dissemble." Members of the Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee coalition would have balked at Tame King's claim, not to mention the fact that he was an inexperienced diplomat. He admitted to the audience that "his Father" had sent him, and that, although he himself was young, "he will grow in Experience."[28]

Despite these shortcomings, Tame King marshaled the ritualized language of diplomacy to establish his authority and cultivate an alliance with the Americans. "I came down to make the path white and plain," indicating that he wished for peace and trade with his potential allies. He also said he was "happy" to learn that the Americans possessed abundant goods. To demonstrate his commitment to the Americans, he presented the commissioners with a "white Pouch" filled with tobacco on behalf of the "Three Rivers." He explained that the tobacco smoke "will ascend white" and seal the alliance between the Creeks and Americans. After smoking the tobacco with the Georgians, Tame King informed the commissioners that the "white Pouch" was a gift from "the largest Town," Cussita, which boasted nine hundred persons. Tame King then gave the officials a "String of Beads" as "a Token of the white Path from the Three

[28] Old Tallassee King's Son to American Commissioners, 6/18/1777, Ogeechee River, RC, 223-224. Commissioners Galphin, Jonathan Bryan, "Dan'l" McMurphy, John "Stewart," Rae, Stephen Heard, and "Saml" Miller attended. According to Swanton, *Early History*, the Tallapoosas were sometimes called the "Middle" Creeks (216). Tallassee King's son was later known as Hoboithle Mico, Tallassee King, Good Child King, or Tame King. These titles may reflect his changing political status. See Saunt, *New Order*, 63, 79. For simplicity's sake, I prefer "Tame King."

Towns." "I offer you one end for as long as you hold one and I the other[. Therefore,] nothing shall happen to stop the Path."[29] Later, Handsome Fellow of Okfuskee seconded the young headman. He reminded the Americans that in "former Times our Ancestors met yours at the Water edge" and became friends. During this friendship, the "Path" had always been "straight and open," abounding with trade. The Okfuskee diplomat followed up by saying that Cussita and Tallassee were the "largest" Creek towns, which ought to therefore oversee trade with the Americans. But while Cussita was the most populous Creek town, Tallassee was only an average-sized town consisting of roughly 360 inhabitants. Perhaps Handsome Fellow meant that politically Tallassee was an influential town, not necessarily numerically. In any case, he apprised the commissioners that "One of our large Towns will require 15 or 20 loads of goods and 4 of ammunition as a Supply."[30] With Handsome Fellow's support, Tame King bolstered his own authority and emerged as an important figurehead in Creek-American diplomacy.

The seeds of the Cussita-Tallassee coalition were planted at the Ogeechee conference. Eventually, it would grow into a powerful alliance encompassing Creeks from Cussita, Coweta, Yuchi, Ouseechee, Chehaw, and Apalachicola as well as the Upper Creek towns of Tallassee and Okfuskee. Because Tame King claimed the mantle

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[29] Old Tallassee King's Son to American Commissioners, 6/18/1777, Ogeechee River, RC, 223-224. For demography of Creek towns, see Spanish commissary to the Creeks, Pedro Olivier, and James Durouzeaux took a Creek census in late 1793. Their report is enclosed in Olivier to Baron de Carondelet, 12/1/1793, "Old Town of Wetonka," in *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794, Part III: Problems of Frontier Defense, 1792-1794*, ed. Lawrence Kinnaird (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1946), 4:231-232 (hereafter cited as SMV, volume number, page number).

[30] Handsome Fellow to American Commissioners, 6/18/1777, Ogeechee River, in *RC*, ed. Calloway, 224-225. For Tallassee's population, see Olivier to Carondelet, 12/1/1793, "Old Town of Wetonka," SMV, 4:231.

of speaker, having been "appointed" to that position, it is likely that several other Upper towns belonged to the coalition.[31] But althohgh its primary goal in the summer of 1777 was to obtain trade goods from Georgia, the rebel colony largely supplied the Creeks with "amazing quantities of Rum." It is unclear whether the rebel officials gave them more practical goods, such as guns, ammunition, and clothing.[32]

[31] Old Tallassee King's son to American Commissioners, 6/18/1777, Ogeechee River, RC, 223.

[32] William McIntosh to Alexander Cameron, 7/6/77, "Thayealiskey's" (?), CO5/78.

Table 4. Two Creek-Led Coalitions, 1777-1786. For the political geography of each coalition, please refer additionally to Figure 10.

Two coalitions	Participating provinces, towns, and talofas	Major leaders	Allies
- Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee coalition	- Lower Creek: Coweta - Tallapoosa: Tuckabatchee, Little Tallassee, Sawanogi - Abeika: Nuyaka (talofa), Hillaubee - Alabama: Coosada, Little Okchai, Tuskegee	- Sempeyoffee of Coweta - Mad Dog of Tuckabatchee; Emistisiguo and Alexander McGillivray of Little Tallassee - Red Shoes of Coosada	- British and Spanish - Western Indian Confederacy
- Cussita-Tallassee coalition	- Lower Creek: Cussita, Apalachicola, Oconee, Chehaw, Hitchiti Town, Coweta, Ouseechee, Sauwoogelo, Sauwoogelooche (talofa), Lower Eufaula, Padjeeligau (talofa), Yuchi Town - Tallapoosa: Tallassee, Autossee, Cooloome, Sougohatche - Abeika: Okfuskee, Corn House, Kialijee	- Fat King of Cussita and Hallowing King of Coweta - Head warrior of Apalachicola - Tame King of Tallassee - Handsome Fellow and White Lieutenant of Okfuskee	- Americans, British, and occasionally Spanish

The Cussita-Tallassee coalition revealed the divisions within the Upper Creek towns. Handsome Fellow admitted to American commissioners on the Ogeechee that "Tait, the big Fellow and the Tallasee Second Man told me I would hear nothing but lies if I heard your Talks."[33] The "big Fellow" refers to Emistisiguo, an intergral leader of the Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee coalition. Nor did Tallassee's Second Man support Tame King, which must have undermined Tame King's credibility among the Upper towns. Furthermore, the popularity of the Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee coalition among the Upper towns cut against Tame King's assertion that he represented the "Three Rivers" (all of Creek society). Possibly, his Lower Creek allies neither comprehended nor cared about his status among the Upper towns. What mattered was that Tame King presented himself as a confident headman who could lead the Cussita-Tallassee coalition in diplomacy with the Americans.

The Cussita-Tallassee coalition did attract support, however, among the Lower Creeks. In July 1777, British assistant commissary to the Lower Creeks, William McIntosh, reported to the Cherokee agent that the "Cussitaw King according to Mr. Galphins desire Intends to have a meeting with the whole of the Lower Creeks, and has promised the Rebels to get all the different Towns to join them." Tame King was "likewise to act in the same manner in the Upper Towns," suggesting that Tame King and Cussita Mico began to politically coordinate across Creek society in the summer of 1777. McIntosh explained that each headman was attempting to persuade as many Creeks as possible "to drive all the Beloved men [i.e., British] out of the Nation." Several Creeks

[33] Handsome Fellow to American Commissioners, 6/18/1777, Ogeechee River, RC, 224.

listened to these "Talks," for on July 5, "a fellow called long Crop from the Cussitaws with some others ... came over here with a View to take my [McIntosh's] Scalp, but he mist his Aim."[34] Tame King's and Cussita Mico's strategy bore political fruit. In mid-August, the following headmen met with Georgia authorities in Augusta: "the *Handsome Man*, in the presence of the *Head-Tallasie Warrior*, the *Handsome Mans Son, and Nephew*, the *Oakchoi Warrior* the *Cussatau second Man*, the *Hallowing King Lingee* [i.e., Singee] *and his Son* and the *Palachocola* second Man."[35]

The leaders of the Cussita-Tallassee coalition turned out for the Augusta conference. Handsome Fellow, his "*Son, and Nephew*" joined the unnamed Tallassee head warrior, while the Cussita Heniha (second man) attended for Cussita Mico. For his part, Apalachicola Heniha represented the influential Hitchiti town. Coweta sent a prominent diplomat, including Hallowing King (also known as Yahola Mico), who was an opponent of Sempeyoffee.[36] Unlike the other headmen, Singee had previously aided the American military effort. According to one document, on December 9, 1776 "Singee his Son & Daughter arrivd at Fort Barrington," which may have been located in Georgia. They remained there until January 14, at which time they left for "the Nation." The three Indians "servd [Georgia for] 8 days." Since Georgia provided them with rations for

[34] William McIntosh to Alexander Cameron, 7/6/77, "Thayealiskey's" (?), CO5/78.

[35] Samuel Elbert to the Creeks, 8/13/1777, Augusta, RC, 261, 586117 (original italics). This document is a copy of the original, which the British intercepted. For the original and for "Singee," see Elbert to the Creeks, 8/13/1777, Augusta, Keith Read Collection, *Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842*, Digital Library of Georgia, <http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu> (hereafter cited as SNAD).

[36] For Yahola Mico as Hallowing King, see RC, 586n117.

forty-four days, Singee's family probably served the colony on a long-term basis.[37] The Cussita-Tallassee coalition may have attempted to parlay Singee's ties to Georgia into a trade alliance, especially since trade goods, even food, remained scare that summer. According to one report, there "is such a scarcity of Provisions [among Creeks] as borders upon a Famine."[38] Unfortunately, Georgia official Samuel Elbert, who hosted the Augusta conference, failed to supply the Creeks with goods. In fact, he threatened the delegation, saying that the Americans "are as numerous as the Trees" and "are able to crush you, and them [the British], and any body else, who dare to make War with them, to Atoms."[39] The conference was not a complete failure since it united several Creek towns around a shared goal of gaining access to trade. For instance, weeks after the conference, Handsome Fellow and a party of Cussitas traveled to Charles Town, probably hoping to acquire trade goods from another rebel colony. Although the delegation seems to have returned home empty-handed, the visit solidified the political ties between Cussita and Okfuskee.[40]

In 1778, Creeks' access to goods became even more tenuous, especially after the Cowetas killed three "Rebel Rangers" early that year. The Americans cut off trade with the Creeks, although they had supplied very little. Moreover, Stuart gained some leverage over the Lower Creeks by discontinuing the trade to all Lower towns, justifying

[37] State of Georgia to Jessiah Barrington, 2/1/1777, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC845, SNAD. An "Old Indian Canipka [a Creek Indian?] with 9 Other Indians" also served for three days.

[38] Stuart to Germain, 6/14/1777, Pensacola, CO5/78.

[39] Samuel Elbert to the Creeks, 8/13/1777, Augusta, RC, 260-261. Elbert served the Georgia Continental battalion as a Colonel (585n116).

[40] John Stuart to George Germain, 10/6/1777, Pensacola, CO5/79.

his decision by blaming the Lower Creeks for Cussita's ties with the Americans. Facing the immediate future with little hope for trade, the Cussita-Tallassee coalition reopened ties with the British. Cussita Mico led the way, empowered "Hycout" (Hycat) as the "Deputy from the Rebel Towns," and sent him to Pensacola where Stuart resided. Hycat arrived in tow with "all the Chiefs of the Lower Towns attached to" the Americans. There, in Pensacola, the headmen implored Stuart "to let [William McIntosh] my Commissary return with them to their Towns."[41]

To dispel Stuart's fears that the Americans would goad the Lower Creeks into killing McIntosh, the Lower Creeks drew upon Apalachicola's position in the Cussita-Tallassee coalition. The "Head Warrior of the Appalachicolas" seems to have assured Stuart that McIntosh would not be harmed. Stuart learned that Apalachicola "is considered as the Mother & Governing Town of the whole Nation" and therefore could be trusted with protecting McIntosh. Consequently, Stuart reappointed McIntosh, writing that "I am so thoroughly convinced of" the Apalachicola head warrior's "Power to protect [McIntosh] that he sets out in a few days accompanied by the Traders for the Lower Towns."[42] McIntosh traveled with "Alagatai" and the Cussita headman, Hycat. In

[41] John Stuart to George Germain, 3/5/1778, Pensacola, CO5/79. Although Stuart wrote that all the "Rebel Towns ... except the Cussitahs" arrived, he may not have known that Hycat was actually a Cussita, who likely spoke for Cussita Mico. For "Hycat," who is listed as the "Cussitaw King" years later (in 1793), see William Panton (?),"List of Indians to be Invited to Pensacola," authored between December 1793 and May 1794, Pensacola (?), in D. C. Corbitt, "Papers Relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1784-1800, XIV," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 24:1 (March 1940): 77-83, here 82, 82n11.

[42] Stuart to Germain, 3/5/1778, Pensacola, CO5/79. For Apalachicola as an influential white town, see Braund, *Deerskins*, 141.

late March 1778, McIntosh arrived safely in Hitchiti Town ("Hitchitaws") just downstream from Cussita.[43]

On April 2, Hitchiti Town hosted McIntosh to discuss the reestablishment of British trade in the province. Fat King of Cussita attended with "some other Chiefs from the Cussitaws," who hoped to secure trade goods from McIntosh. According to the commissary, the Cussita headmen "made great Promises to me before all the Lower Creek Chiefs, that they will for the time to come have no further communication with the Rebels." Cussita promised to expel its American trader (a Mr. Lambeth), take up Stuart's talks and, as McIntosh wrote Stuart, "receive their goods entirely from you." The strategy worked, for McIntosh sent "Mims" and "Thomas Millter" to Cussita with eight pieces of stroud and "every thing equivalent."[44] In fact, in 1778, several towns in the Cussita-Tallassee coalition requested British trade, as when Okfuskee welcomed British traders in mid-April. White Lieutenant of Okfuskee may have made this decision after his uncle, Handsome Fellow, died one year earlier. After that prominent headman's death, town leadership passed to White Lieutenant as well as Will's Friend.[45] Moreover, on March 30, Taitt decided to permit "the Trade" into Tame King's town of Tallassee and

[43] William McIntosh to John Stuart, 4/3/1778, "Hitchitaws," CO5/79.

[44] McIntosh to Stuart, 4/3/1778, "Hitchitaws," CO5/79. Fat King is spelled "Farr ["Fatt"?] King." From what I can tell, this is the first instance where Fat King appears in the records. So, it is possible that Blue Salt died, and a new mico came to power during the Revolution.

[45] For Okfuskee's rejection of American traders, see Taitt to Stuart, 4/13/1778, Little Tallassee, CO5/79. For White Lieutenant's and Will's Friend's opposition to America, see Alexander McGillivray to Colonel Stuart, 8/6/1778, Little Tallassee, CO5/79. For Handsome Fellow as uncle of White Lieutenant, see Piker, *Okfuskee*, 140. White Lieutenant was "'a half breed,'" an Indian who had a Euro-American father and Creek mother.

into two Okfuskee villages named Sugatspoges and Corn House. His decision suggests that these towns, like Cussita and Apalachicola, had appealed to Taitt for British trade.[46]

Thus, although the Cussita-Tallassee coalition got its start by treating with the Americans, it maintained contact with the British. Since the summer of 1777, the main goal for the coalition had been to access trade from whichever side was able (or willing) to provide it. During the Revolution, then, Creeks were neither "pro-American" nor "pro-British." Simultaneous trade with the Americans and British was not mutually exclusive. Rather, coalition leaders addressed their towns' need for goods by engaging with and occasionally manipulating American and British officials. Cussita captures the ways in which Creeks deftly maneuvered between both Euro-American powers to serve *Creek*, not American or British, goals. Only months after reestablishing trade with Stuart, for example, Cussita leaders resumed their relationship with the Americans sometime in July or August of 1778.[47]

Creek headmen were pro-Creek in other ways. In early April 1778, for example, Mad Dog and Coosada's Red Shoes teamed up and, according to Taitt, went "to try what they can do with the Tallassee King & his Son [i.e., nephew]," Tame King.[48] Taitt's letter suggests that Mad Dog and the Alabamas sought to correct what they perceived as a diplomatic misstep by Tallassee. Perhaps they believed that they could exert greater influence on the British if they enlisted Tallassee Mico's and Tame King's leadership.

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[46] Taitt to Stuart, 4/7/1778, Little Tallassee, CO5/79. See Piker, *Okfuskee*, 9 and 127 (Sugatspoges), 83 (Corn House).

[47] See Alexander McGillivray to Colonel Stuart, 8/6/1778, Little Tallassee, CO5/79. McGillivray was Britain's assistant commissary for the Creeks.

[48] Taitt to Stuart, 4/13/1778, Little Tallassee, CO5/79.

But according to one report penned months later by McGillivray, Tame King and another Tallassee headman remained an ally of the Americans.[49] We should be cautious of McGillivray's statement, however, and one example demonstrates why that is so. In the summer of 1778 the Tallapoosa town of Sougohatche and its headman, Efau Mulgau, linked up with Tame King.[50] Tame King, the "Half Way House Indians" (Tallassees), and "[s]ome of the Sougahatchee Men" then left for the point below "Yellow Water" sometime before August 16. Along the way, they "robbed" the "Cowpen" of a British trader named McQueen.[51] While the robbery could be interpreted to mean that Tame King and his allies were "pro-American," more likely is the explanation that their people needed meat for the approaching winter.

The Cussita-Tallassee coalition blossomed later that December, when Fat King of Cussita and headmen from "four other Towns" traveled to Georgia. They convened on the Ogeechee River with three American commissioners, including the Lower Creeks' fictive kinsman, George Galphin. Relaying a message from Tame King, Fat King pledged that no less than thirteen towns preferred peace with the Americans. Many of these towns were established coalition affiliates, including "the Cussitas, Parachuckles [Apalachicola], Hitchatas [Hitchiti Town], Tallasees &c." Yet new coalition allies

[49] Alexander McGillivray to Colonel Stuart, 8/6/1778, Little Tallassee, CO5/79. McGillivray was Britain's assistant commissary for the Creeks.

[50] Sougohatche was named after the nearby Sougohatche Creek, and took its name from the ritual gourds (s., *sauga*) rattled in Creek dances; see Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 29, 34. In the 1790s, U.S. Agent to the Creeks, Benjamin Hawkins, noticed that Sougohatche had "lately [i.e., late 1770s] joined Tal-e-see"; one chief was named "O-fau-mul-gau [Efau Mulgau]," who had "some cattle"; see Hawkins, "A Sketch of the Creek Country in the Years 1798 and 1799," in *The Collected Works of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1810*, with introduction by Thomas Foster (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 49s.

[51] Samuel Thomas to Colonel Stuart, 8/16/1778, "Tory Village," CO5/79. Thomas obtained his report third-hand; Tame King is referred to as "good Child King."

entered the picture, namely Autossee, whose headman sent "this Tobacco for your friends to smoke"; Cooloome ("Coolamies"); and the Abeika town of Kialijee ("Killigees)." The following Lower Creek towns may have recently joined the Cussita-Tallassee bloc, and they would certainly play a more prominent role in the years to come: Yuchi Town, Sauwoogelo, "Swaglahatches [Sauwoogelooche]," "Tomathlies[,] the [Okmulgee?] old fields," and one Seminole town named "Muckasukey."[52] Fat King's talk to the commissioners demonstrates that by December 1778, the Cussita-Tallassee alliance had gained popularity across Creek society. More than a dozen towns entrusted Tame King and/or Fat King to speak for them. Moreover, the influence of Cussita and Tallassee in this coalition was mutually reinforcing. By speaking for Tame King, Fat King represented numerous Upper Creek towns, while Tame King's influence among the Lower Creeks echoed in Fat King's leadership.[53]

As each Creek coalition stabilized in 1778, John Stuart's death in March 1779 created panic among the Creeks, testing the coaltions' leadership throughout that year. Since Stuart had become the British Superintendent for the Southern Indians in 1762, he labored to keep the Indians satisfied through fair imperial policy and an abundance of inexpensive goods. After his death, a British board of Indian commissioners operated out

[52] "A Talk from the Young Tallassee King [i.e., Tame King] from the Uper and lower Towns of the Creeks" to American commissioners,12/15/1778, enclosed in George Galphin to Benjamin Lincoln, 1/7/1779, folder 2, in George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780, Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection, MS 313, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL (hereafter cited as GGL). The Autossee headman was "an Otassee Man." I thank Bryan C. Rindfleisch for alerting me to the Galphin Letters. For Kialijee ("Cacoledgee") as an Abeika town, see Courtonne, List, October 1758, WHLP.

[53] Fat King said that "the talk that I give is not of my own making, it is from the Tallassee King [i.e., Tame King] who is as great as any in our Nation." See "A Talk from the Young Tallassee King," 12/15/1778, enclosed in Galphin to Lincoln, 1/7/1779, folder 2, GGL.

of Mobile and Pensacola to oversee Anglo-Indian trade relations. Around late April, leaders from the Alabama towns and from the Abeika town of Okchai traveled to Pensacola to discuss trading arrangements with Stuart's successors.[54] Whether the commissioners satisfied the economic goals of the Alabama-Okchai delegation is unclear. More clearly, however, the Alabama and Abeika headmen cultivated unity. Their trip to Pensacola drew upon and strengthened the kinship ties between each town. Those ties had been established in the colonial period, when members of Okchai founded Little Okchai among the Alabamas.[55] In a larger sense, too, the 1779 Alabama-Okchai embassy fortified relations among the Alabama, Abeika, and Tallapoosa towns within the Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee bloc.

Tallassee townspeople also found common ground in the wake of Stuart's death. On June 6, 1779, thirty-seven "Head men" and warriors of "the Great Tallassie Town" (Tallassee) convened with British commissioners in Mobile to request that British trade resume in Tallassee. At the time, the town had a "Poverty" of goods, according to one headman. The commissioners were surprised by the "Visit," since Tallassee was "Strongly attached to the Rebell Interest and hath created great uneasiness and disturbance in the Creek Nation." The commissioners reported that "we renewed our friendship and assured [Tallassee that] we would forget all things past," including

[54] "Opaya hadgie[,] Phiamingo [i.e., Pia Mingo,] and some more of the Ockjoys [Okchais] are on their Road to Pensacola"; Moniac to British commissioners, 5/1/1779, Little Tallassee, CO5/80. By 1805, some 1,650 Alabamas and Koasatis led by Red Shoes and Pia Mingo had established settlements in Spanish Louisiana (Shuck-Hall, *Journey to the West*, 108-109, 119).

[55] For Little Okchai (also spelled Hookchoieooche), see Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 84. This talofa was located near the Coosa-Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee confluence, about one mile north of Tuskegee (83).

presumably the plunder of McQueen's cowpen by Tame King and Sougohatche a year earlier. But perhaps because the British commissioners had few goods to give them, the Tallassees returned home empty-handed.[56]

As a result, Tallassee later petitioned the Americans for trade. On November 3, Tame King led a delegation of "Thirty Indians" that met George Galphin at his home of Silver Bluff in South Carolina. Galphin's fictive ties to Tame King's coalition (especially Cussita) facilitated relations between the Americans and Tame King. The Tallassee headman carried a "white wing and String of Beads," which "Denotes that the [trade] path may be kept perfect Clain [*sic*] and white from heare to the [Creek] Nation." The speaker hoped that the path would remain "White through the Cussitas," Tallassee's close ally and Galphin's adopters, "and from there through the whole Nation." In particular, Tame King claimed to represent "all the headmen in the upper Towns," who "had met together and had sent him Down" to speak to Galphin. But while Tame King certainly did not represent all the Upper Creeks, Autossee, Cooloome, Kialijee, and Sougohatche did support him.[57] Tame King's coalition leadership combined with

[56] For thirty-seven, "Declarations of . . . Poverty," and lack of presents, see Commissioners' minutes, 6/6/1779, Mobile (?), CO5/81. For remaining quotes and information, see "Commissioners for Indian Affairs" Andrew Rainsford, John Mitchell, Robert Tait, and Alexander Macullagh to Germain 7/12/1779, Pensacola, CO5/81. For the eastern and southern trade paths in this period, see Piker, "'White & Clean' & Contested: Creek Towns and Trading Paths in the Aftermath of the Seven Years' War," in *Ethnohistory* 50:2 (Spring 2003): 315-347.

[57] One string of beads represented a path from Silver Bluff to the "Governor's Door in Charlestown." See "A Talk Delivered at Silver Bluff the Third Day of November 1779 to GG Esq. Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Southern Departments by the Tallassee King," enclosed in Galphin to Lincoln, 11/7/1779, Silver Bluff, in folder 1, GGL. For Galphin's reply, see "A Talk Delivered by George Galphin Esq. Commissioner of Indian affair to the Tallassee King and a Number of Warriors and Beloved Men at Silver Bluff," 11/7/1779, Silver Bluff, enclosed in Galphin to Lincoln, 11/7/1779, Silver Bluff, in folder 1, GGL. For Autossee, Cooloome, and Kialijee, see"A Talk from the Young Tallassee King," 12/15/1778, enclosed in Galphin to

Galphin's attempts to secure the fealty of the Creeks, shaping Galphin's decision to supply the assembled Indians with a small amount of ammunition.[58]

In the early years of the Revolution, two town-based coalitions crystallized in Creek society. Each sought trade from the competing Euro-American powers. The Cussita-Tallassee coalition partially secured trade with the Americans, doing so by manipulating kinship ties to Galphin. Bonds of kinship also came in handy when the Cussitas enlisted that trader to maintain peace between the Americans and Creek towns. Of course, when Georgia officials like Samuel Elbert withheld trade from their Native allies, the Cussita-Tallassee coalition smoothly treated to the British. For their part, Mad Dog and Emistisiguo relied for trade and protection on John Stuart, who had fastened bonds with these leaders after 1763. Diplomatic relations between Creek and Euro-American authorities depended on the political activity taking place behind-the-scenes. Scholars have glossed over the ways in which headmen spun webs of cross-town linkage that helped make alliances possible in the first place. Diplomacy in the revolutionary South took its shape from the rhythms of Creek town politics.

Creek politics also shaped Creek contributions to the battles, skirmishes, and sieges of the Revolutionary War. Before launching a raid or fighting beside a Euro-American army, Creek head warriors tapped into the the political networks of their town

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Lincoln, 1/7/1779, folder 2, GGL. For Sougohatche, see Samuel Thomas to Colonel Stuart, 8/16/1778, "Tory Village," CO5/79.

[58] Galphin promised to send more in the future; see Galphin to Lincoln, 11/7/1779, Silver Bluff, in folder 1, GGL.

world to assembly a war party.[59] In the summer of 1781, for instance, Emistisiguo brought his formidable skill and influence as a head warrior to bear on his alliance with Britain. One British official reported that Emistisiguo donned the title of "Chief of the Creeks," perhaps from leaders of the Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee coalition, and commanded a massive force of "about 1000" warriors. His men were "well provided with Amunition" by the British, and he led them "to War against the Rebel Banditti" along the American frontier.[60] Since Little Tallassee contained only about 200 townspeople, Emistisiguo must have formed the one-thousand-man war party from numerous towns among the Upper Creeks.[61] He could not simply coerce these men to join him; he had to persuade them to do so, navigating the contours of the Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee coalition. He would have had to advertise his credentials as a head warrior and convince them that he had mastered spiritual power to safely lead men in and out of battle. Thus, just as coalitions shaped diplomacy, so too they made Creek military contributions possible at wartime.

The Revolutionary War ceased in October 1781, when a combined force of Americans and French defeated the British at the Battle of Yorktown. The American victory at Yorktown led to a tag-team effort by Fat King and Tame King to amplify ties with the Americans. Their goal remained the promotion of Creek-American trade and

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[59] For Southern Indian contributions to the war, see Piecuch, *Three Peoples*, 258, 270; O'Donnell III, "Southern Indians," in *Four Centuries*, ed. Hudson, 46-64.

[60] Thomas Brown to Germain (?), 8/9/1781, Charleston, CO5/82. Emistisiguo later perished in the Siege of Savannah in 1782 (Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 55).

[61] Pedro Olivier to Baron de Carondelet, 12/1/1793, "Old Town of Wetonka," SMV, 4:231-232.

peace.[62] Months after Britain's surrender, on May 28, 1782 Tame King and "his Head Men of the Tallasee" convened with American commissioners in Augusta. Speaking for the Upper towns, Tame King reminded the commissioners of the "Friendship their Fore fathers [had] made before them," a friendship that had been interrupted by the late war. The time was drawing "near that there will be nothing but Peace [added: & quietness] in the Land," and that "our Children should eat out of one Dish that is one with a Red Hand and the other with white." Cross-cultural peace was a means of protecting the "Women and Children which they Love." He requested that the commissioners pass along "this Talk" to American politicians in Savannah, Charleston, and Philadelphia, so "that when these Places are taken [by the U.S.?] and the French and Spaniards may [meet for a treaty,] they may all know that the upper Towns of the Creek Nation in general have been their Friends."[63] Tame King was requesting that the Americans and their allies remember the Creeks in the soon-to-be Paris Peace of 1783.

The Lower Creeks approved Tame King's vision for an amicable postwar South. Evidence for this appears near the end of his talk, as he presented "a number of white Beeds [*sic*] as a Token of Friendship from Sundry Towns" of the Lower Creeks. He explained that the beads were given to him by Cussita as well as by five Hitchiti-speaking towns, explicitly naming Hitchiti Town, Apalachicola, Oconee, Sauwoogelo, and

[62] Okfuskee probably aided this effort. See Item 37, "Memo. of the Kings Proposals & Complaints," 1783, in *Indian Treaties: Cessions of Land in Georgia, 1705-1837*, ed. Louise. F. Hays (Atlanta, GA: W. P. A. Project No. 7158, 1941), 117-120, especially 119 ("it is his desire that a White Flag should be sent to the beloved town called the oak fuskeys").

[63] Creeks to Georgia, 5/28/1782, Augusta, p. 1, Telamon Cuyler Collection, SNAD. He remarked, too, that the French, Spanish, and Dutch had "heard his Speech." For proof that the delegation met in Augusta, see a June 1782 expenditures document regarding "Tallassee King, his head men, and warriors" (6/6/1782 document, Telamon Cuyler Collection, SNAD).

Sauwoogelooche. Tame King therefore offered proof that several Creek towns desired peace with the American victors. To futher legitimize his peaceful talk, Tame King informed the commissioners that one of the warriors standing beside him "had turned white [the color of peace] and that now he intends nothing but Peace and Friendship."[64]

Later that December, Fat King followed up on Tame King's message by transmitting a message of his own to James Rae, another Cussita adoptive kinsman. In it, Fat King said that "We the red People and the white should live in Peace." For their part, "the Cowetaws and broken Arrow People," referring to a village of Coweta, "have agreed to be at Peace" with Georgia. Fat King hoped to parlay this peace into a lucrative trade alliance. Because the Creeks were a "poor" people, they needed goods "of every kind." In exchange for trade, Fat King pledged that Cussita, Coweta, and Broken Arrow would restore to the Americans all the "Negroes & Cattle & Horses" that members of these towns had pilfered during the war. He closed by saying that the "Head Men of the Cowetaws" and, possibly, the Apalachicolas and Yuchis would return any stolen property to the Americans.[65] Although the debate over stolen property remained unresolved

[64] Creeks to Georgia, 5/28/1782, Augusta, p. 2, Telamon Cuyler Collection, SNAD. For spellings: "The Cussetaws, The Hichetaws Parachocolau, Hoconey Savoucolo, & Usshatchee, & Savocolouchees." For Patachoche, see Ethridge, *Creek Country*. The Apalachicolas established Patachoche after abandoning the old town. In the 1790s, "only ninety people lived there," a shadow of Apalachicola's "former glory." The Hitchiti towns of Oconee, Sauwoogelo, and Sauwoogelooche lay southward (63).

[65] Fat King's talk, enclosed in James Rae to John Martin, 12/28/1782, Augusta, Telamon Cuyler Collection, SNAD. Rae received the talk from Fat King's runners on 12/27. Coweta and Broken Arrow promised to return the stolen property "in May next." The spelling of the towns is as follows: "Cowetaws Palerchey [?] and Irchia [?]." Broken Arrow ("Łikatcka") was a Coweta talofa that had its own square ground; apparently, it was established twelve miles south of Cussita (Swanton, *Early History*, 229). In Caleb Swan's 1791 report, a "Chalagatsca, or broken arrow," is listed. See Swan, "Position and State," in *Information*, ed Schoolcraft, 262, who probably observed or learned of Broken Arrow in mid-to-late 1790.

throughout the 1780s, by 1782 Fat King and Tame King had established the political groundwork for a postwar Creek-American alliance. They were backed of course by numerous Creek towns. Unfortunately, that alliance was undermined by the emerging Paris Peace settlement.

Late in 1782, British, American, and French diplomats assembled in Paris to debate articles of peace. In Article 2 of the Preliminary Articles of Peace, the British Empire ceded its claim to all territory east of the Mississippi River and north of the thirty-first parallel to the Americans.[66] All of the Southern Indians' lands lay within this proposed land transfer. Although the treaty was not officially signed until September 3, 1783, the Southern Indians caught wind of it earlier in the year. By May 15, a Creek delegation led by Coweta had traveled to British-occupied Saint Augustine to air their grievances. Coweta headman Fine Bones spoke for his town and the "upper Creeks" when he reminded the British that the Creeks had fought the "Indians Spaniards or Virginians" on behalf of Britain. "If the English mean to abandon the Land," Fine Bones continued, "we will accompany them ___ We cannot take a Virginian or Spaniard by the hand we cannot look them in the face." Coweta's Long Warrior seconded Fine Bones' protests, saying that Coweta and some unidentified "upper Creek" towns eschewed any alliance with the Americans.[67] Moreover, some Creek towns may have received and

[66] Preliminary Articles of Peace, Article 2, 11/30/1782, in "The Avalon Projects: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy," Yale Law School, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/prel1782.asp (accessed January 10, 2015).

[67] Lower Creeks to Governor Patrick Tonyn, Brigadier General McArthur, and Superintendent Thomas Brown, 5/15/1783, Saint Augustine, CO5/82. The three major Creek diplomats were "Okaiegige" (of the "flint River Indians"), who spoke first; Fine Bones; and Long Warrior.

accepted an invitation from the Chickasaws to defend the Southern Indians' lands. According to one Spanish report, Chickasaw headman Payamataha ("Paymataa") and another Chickasaw "chief" ventured east "to make peace with the Cherokees and Talapoosas [Creeks]."[68]

The Paris Peace settlement recognized United States independence and transferred Britain's claims in eastern North America to the U.S. by right of conquest. Again, Creeks contested the illicit land transfer. In December 1783, the Upper Creeks met the British in Tallahassee ("Talhassie"), West Florida. Supporting Fine Bones' earlier protest, Upper Creek headmen declared that "whilst we live we will not take a Spaniard or Virginian [American] by the hand."[69] The Upper Creeks sensed the profound geopolitical reconfiguration of Native North America ushered in by the Treaty of Paris. Although the British continued to occupy a series of forts in the Ohio, Britain's influence with the Indians was eclipsed by the U.S. and by Spain, who had conquered Mobile and Pensacola during the war and who subsequently gained West Florida in the treaty settlement.

The two major Creek coalitions adjusted to the Paris Peace in different ways. Fat King and Tame King augmented their peace talks of 1782 by negotiating with the Americans more frequently than they had during the Revolution. To that end, they

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[68] Pedro Piernas, "Spanish Overtures to the Chickasaws," 10/24/1782, enclosed in Piernas to Miró, 10/28/1782, Natchez, in *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794, Part II: Post War Decade, 1782-1791*, ed. Lawrence Kinnaird (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1946), 3:61-62 (hereafter cited as SMV, volume number, page number).

[69] Upper Creeks to Superintendent Thomas Brown, 12/30/1783, "Talhassie," CO5/82. "Talhassie" might refer to the Seminole town of "Talla-hasse." Located "on the waters of the Miccasuky pond," it contained about 1,000 people (Swanton, *Early History*, 411).

negotiated three treaties with Georgia: the Treaty of Augusta (1783), Galphinton (1785), and Shoulderbone Creek (1786). In response to the Augusta treaty, the Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee coalition began treating with the Spanish, whom Mad Dog and McGillivray saw as a counterweight to Georgia. Although some of this coalition's members, such as Coweta, bemoaned Britain's evacuation, they quickly accepted Spain as a trading partner, preferring the goods supplied by Gulf Coast traders associated with Panton, Leslie, and Company.

A rivalry emerged between Mad Dog and McGillivray, on one hand, and Tame King and Fat King, on the other hand. That rivalry can be traced to the three treaties signed with Georgia. Scholars correctly point out that a "small number" of headmen allied to Tame King and Fat King agreed to the land cessions in the Augusta treaty and one in the Galphinton treaty.[70] By making that argument, however, scholars echo the biases of McGillivray, who tried to create a Creek "Nation" that would pursue a unified foreign policy and pass coercive laws designed to unite all Creeks against the Americans. Moreover, by focusing on treaties alone, scholars ignore how political discussions within and across towns Creek towns fired diplomacy. Cross-town political debates in non-treaty settings frequently determined a coalition's strategies for treaty-making with the Americans or Spanish. In short, we must consider what happened within and across Creek towns *before* a treaty conference opened in order to understand what happened afterwards. In sum, Creek headmen shaped and were shaped by their coalition as they conducted diplomacy with Euro-Americans between 1783 and 1786.

[70] Calloway, *American Revolution*, 284; Saunt, *New Order*, 79 ("small number"); Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 30-31.

In late 1783, Georgia invited the Creeks to a conference to discuss a possible cession of Lower Creek hunting grounds east of the Oconee River. In early November Fat King and Tame King, having had a clear mandate in 1782 to treat with Georgia, led thirteen headmen from the Lower Creek towns and possibly a Seminole town to Augusta. On November 1, all but one delegate consented to the "Oconee Cession" by touching pen to the Treaty of Augusta. The circumstances under which the delegates signed the treaty are unknown, but Georgia possibly coerced the headmen into signing the treaty. Months later Tame King told McGillivray that the headmen were "threatend [*sic*] with Instant death if they did not comply." On the other hand, at least one headman felt safe enough to abstain, namely "Okoney," whose signature does not appear on the treaty but whose name is listed on the roster of attending delegates. He was presumably a headman from Oconee town on the Chattahoochee River. Although we cannot know for sure, Georgia's promise to trade with the signing towns may have convinced most headmen that signing the treaty was in their best interest.[71]

[71] Treaty of Augusta, 11/1/1783, Augusta, RC, 372. The fifteen delegates included: "the Tallesee King, Tallesee Warrior, the Fat King, Mad Fish, Topwar King, Alachago, Hitcheto Warrior, Okoney, Okolege, Cuse King, Second Man, Inomatwhata, Inomatawtusnigua, Head Warrior, Gugahacho" (372). The signers are listed thusly: "Tallesee King," "Tallesee Warrior," "Fat King," "Mad Fish," "Topwar King," "Alachago," "Hitcheto Warrior," "Okolege," "Cowetaw," "Cuse King," "Second Man," "Inomatuhata," "Inomatawtusnigua," and "Sugahacho" (373). The list of signers indicates that of the delegates, "Okoney" did not sign. Inexplicably, a "Cowetaw," whose name does not appear on the list of delegates did sign. Calloway suggests that "Okolege" was a Guale town (596n31); Swanton's list of northern Guale towns includes "Uculegue (Oculeygue, Oculeya)" (*Early History*, 81). Possibly, "Alachago" (RC, 373) was a Seminole. For instance, in 1823 an "Alac Hajo" (or "Ahalak hadjo") lived in the Seminole town of "Yumersee," which was at the head of the "Sumulga Hatchee River," just twenty miles north of the St. Mark's (*Early History*, 411). For "threatend," see McGillivray to Georgia Governor (?), 6/30/1784, Little Tallassee, p. 2, Telamon Cuyler Collection, SNAD; Saunt, *New Order*, 80n60.

As news of the Oconee Cession trickled into Upper Creek country, the Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee coalition disputed its legitimacy. According to McGillivray, in the spring of 1784 "Thirty four of the principal Towns" among the Upper Creeks assembled in Tuckabatchee. There, McGillivray skewered Tame King by saying that his coalition lacked a national mandate to cede the Oconee lands, which belonged to the "Nation." The Tallassee headman responded by saying that Georgia commissioners threatened him as well as Fat King and "their followers" with "Instant death if they did not comply" with Georgia's terms. Later, the "Chiefs" appointed McGillivray as speaker ("head of the meeting"). Speaking for the assembled towns, McGillivray authored and dispatched a message to the Georgia Governor, threatening to declare "War" on Georgia should the Governor open the "Oconee Lands" to American settlement.[72]

Although numerically the Tame King-Fat King coalition represented only a small percentage of the Creek "Nation" at the Augusta conference, debating majorities and minorities, as McGillivray understood, was a slippery slope.[73] Consider, for instance, a census of the Creek towns taken by Spanish officials Pedro Olivier and James Durouzeaux just a decade after the Oconee Cession. They identified a total of fifty-six

[72] McGillivray to Georgia Governor (?), 6/30/1784, Little Tallassee, pp. 1-2, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC901, SNAD. He signed the message as "S. C. N," or speaker of the Creek Nation. For the duties of a speaker/*yatika*, see John R. Swanton, "Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy," in *Forty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1924-1925* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1928): 23-472, here 295-297. For the meeting being held in Tuckabatchee, see McGillivray to James White, 4/8/1787, RC, 445 ("a general convention was held at the Teickibatiks [Tuckabatchee] town," where Tame King and Fat King "were severally [*sic*] censured for their conduct").

[73] Saunt, *New Order*, 79-80. For "Nation," see McGillivray to Georgia Governor (?), 6/30/1784, Little Tallassee, p. 2, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC901, SNAD. See, too, Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 30-32.

Creek towns containing no less than "15,160 souls." More than one-third (6,445) of the Creeks inhabited at least twenty-five Lower Creek and Seminole towns, whereas more than one-half of the Creeks (8,715) clustered among the Upper Creek towns, the heart of the Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee coalition.[74] Although the Upper towns contained 2,270 more souls than the Lower towns, that figure did not give Upper Creek headmen like McGillivray the authority to claim that they spoke for the majority of towns.

What mattered in Creek country and what frustrated McGillivray's efforts to build a unified Nation was that Creek politics remained town-based in the 1780s, as it had since the Creek Confederacy formed from the ashes of the Mississippians in the seventeenth century. Individual towns and headmen freely negotiated with Euro-Americans and other Native people, and forged coalitions with other towns and headmen according to perceived needs and goals. Political decisions were localized and based upon how well a leader represented his own town and on how well he persuaded other towns to ally with him. As a result, if a headman wished to cultivate influence among a given number of towns, he marshaled the support of anyone in a given town who would listen to him. In short, Creek politics was driven by consensual authority. To McGillivray's chagrin, Tame King and Fat were extremely capable organizers who massaged their coalition in the service of Creek-American diplomacy. The population of individual towns might explain why the Cussita-Tallassee coalition mustered support among Lower and Upper Creeks. Fat King's Cussita was, for instance, the largest town in all of Creek country,

[74] Olivier assessed the Upper Creek population, while Durouzeaux counted the Lower Creeks. This rich if underused report is enclosed in Olivier to Baron de Carondelet, 12/1/1793, "Old Town of Wetonka," SMV, 4:229-233, 231-232 (for census table).

boasting nine hundred people and providing the Cussita-Tallassee coalition with clout. Cussita's ally, Okfuskee, was the second most populous with 860 inhabitants. Other towns in the Cussita-Tallassee coalition included Yuchi Town, ranked at fifth (with 550 people); Hitchiti Town, sixth (480); and Tallassee, eleventh (360). Similarly, towns in the Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee coalition were quite large, too, including Tuckabatchee, at third (780). Yet, Little Tallassee was the eighteenth largest Creek town, supporting 195 inhabitants.[75]

Despite the actual numerical size of the Cussita-Tallassee bloc, however, it translated demographic statistics into political influence. Take the Augusta treaty of 1783, for instance. Although only fifteen headmen actually touched pen to the treaty, just a year before both Tame King and Fat King had demonstrated to Georgia officials that numerous towns entrusted these headmen with their interests. Recall that Tame King explicitly identified six Lower Creek towns that had given him "white Beeds" to transmit to Georgia on their behalf.[76] So, in a way, those towns approved his decision to confer with Georgia, even if they may have disagreed with the Oconee Cession that Georgia gained during the Augusta conference. In the world of community politics, the connections across and agreement among individual Creek towns gave weight to diplomacy. McGillivray was powerless to overturn consensual political practices.

Further problematizing the issue of representation was McGillivray's tendency to inflate the number of Creek towns so as to downplay his opponents' power and enhance

[75] Olivier to Baron de Carondelet, 12/1/1793, "Old Town of Wetonka," SMV, 4:231-232. The smallest town was Oconee with 80 souls.

[76] For "white," see Creeks to Georgia, 5/28/1782, Augusta, p. 2, Telamon Cuyler Collection, SNAD.

his own. Coupling Olivier's census with other records, it is fair to posit that late-eighteenth-century Creek society comprised roughly sixty major towns.[77] At one point, however, McGillivray wrote to a U.S. official claiming that "ninety-eight towns" had empowered him at the Tuckabatchee assembly of 1784 to send a "talk" to Georgia condemning the Oconee Cession. Thus, it seems that McGillivray exaggerated the number of Creek towns to buttress his own authority among the Americans and to delegitimize Tame King and Fat King. What's more, McGillivray argued that the Cession had been made without "the unanimous voice of the whole."[78] But since there was no "Nation" or "whole" in an operable political sense, Creek society followed the logic of town politics.

The Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee bloc was subject to the same logic, as when it courted Spain in early 1784. At that time, McGillivray wrote to Pensacola Commandant Arturo O'Neill to draft an alliance between the Creeks and Spain. McGillivray advised O'Neill that "One Principal Consideration" in the proposed alliance "Shoud be a plentifull Supply of Goods [that] Shoud be carried to trade in the Nation on the footing that the English used to do." Spain easily filled British shoes. On June 1, a Creek delegation led by McGillivray signed a treaty of alliance with Governor of Spanish Louisiana, Estevan Miró, and other Spanish officials in Pensacola. By it, McGillivray

[77] Following Benjamin Hawkins' census of Creek society in the late 1790s, Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 31, argues that Creek country contained anywhere between fifteen thousand and twenty thousand people divided into 48 Upper towns and 25 Lower towns. Averaging these 73 towns with Olivier's 56 towns and Olivier's caveat that villages branched off from some of these towns, I arrive at a conservative estimate of 60 towns.

[78] McGillivray to James White, 4/8/1787, RC, 445.

earned a salaried appointment as Spanish commissary to the Creeks.[79] Although McGillivray spearheaded the Hispano-Creek alliance, his authority rested on the consent of other towns, especially Tuckabatchee. According to one Spanish report from the mid-1780s, Mad Dog of Tuckabatchee was the "king and chief of the whole [Creek] nation," and three other unnamed headmen were known as "the principal chiefs" of the Creeks.[80] Possibly, these unknown headmen hailed from the Alabama towns, the Abeika town of Hillabee, an Okfuskee village named Nuyaka, or a Coweta village named Broken Arrow.[81] That McGillivray was left unmentioned in this report suggests that real political

[79] McGillivray to Arturo O'Neill, 1/1/1784, Little Tallassee, RC, 378; "Treaty of Pensacola," 6/1/1784, Document 13, in John Walton Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, introduction by William J. Bauer, Jr. (1938; repr., Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 75-76 (and p. 25 for McGillivray's commission).

[80] "Mr. J. Linder, Senior" to Pedro Favrot, 11/13/1786, "Tinsa [Tensaw?]," SMV, 3:190. Admittedly, this letter contains third- and fourth-hand information.

[81] Unfortunately, the Treaty of Pensacola does not list the headmen who signed it. We can reasonably speculate that the towns I've identified in the above paragraph supported the treaty in some fashion. For instance, in October 1785, O'Neill proposed building a Spanish fort on the Tombigbee, saying that McGillivray, the Alabamas, and other Creeks will defend it; see Arturo O'Neill to Conde de Galvez, 10/31/1785, "Panzacola," in the *Papers of Panton, Leslie, and Company* (Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications, 1986), film, reel 2 (hereafter, PLC). O'Neill wrote, "… convendría hacer una Fortaleza en el puesto de Tomdigby hacia la caveza del Tinisaw cinquenta leguas de la Movila, a lo que se avendrian gustosos los Alivamones y demás Indios Criques; por quanto se comprueva que estas Naciones son preferentemente afectas a los Espanoles a cuyo logro he contribuido con particular esmero lo que resulta en favor" of our monarch.

Moreover, Hillaubee, Tuckabatchee, and Broken Arrow welcomed trade goods from the Spanish. Around March 17, 1786, McGillivray convened some "Head men" and read them a letter he had received from U.S. commissioners, who spread the rumor that American forces were preparing to invade Creek country and rape Creek women. Among others, the "Principal warior of the Hillibies" (Hillaubee) attended the conference. After the "public Talk," McGillivray, Mad Dog, Broken Arrow's "Head man," and "Two other warriors" conferred in "private." A U.S. agent learned that the headmen were probably discussing the acquisition of "Ammuanition" from the Spanish. For McGillivray's conference, see "Information of Abner Hammond," 4/20/1786, pp. 1-2, Telamon Cuyler Collection, SNAD. Hammond was in Hillaubee when its head warrior relayed McGillivray's talk. He learned about the ammunition and a plan by the Creeks to attack the Georgia frontier or the Cumberland watershed from the "second man man [*sic*] of new york," i.e. Nuyaka, a village of Okfuskee. For Nuyaka's history, see Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 171.

authority rested with Mad Dog and the three other headmen, with McGillivray serving as the speaker and conduit between Spain and the Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee coalition. Like Tame King or Fat King, McGillivray's influence stemmed from Creek towns.

In early November 1785, the Cussita-Tallassee coalition met the Georgians in Galphinton, a small settlement on the Oconee River, to discuss an additional land cession. Like the Augusta treaty conference, the Galphinton congress featured only fifteen headmen, who put their mark to the Treaty of Galphinton on November 12. This confirmed the Oconee as the international boundary and created a "temporary line" from the Oconee-Okmulgee fork to the "most southern part" of the St. Marys River in Seminole country. The "temporary line" was effectively a second land cession. Additionally, the treaty outlined the steps for punishment for cross-cultural murder and theft. It also at least partially recognized Creek autonomy by empowering the Georgia governor with the authority to arrest settlers who squatted on Creek "hunting grounds." While a few signatories were Upper Creeks, including Tame King of Tallassee and perhaps an Abeika warrior, the majority of headmen hailed from Lower Creek towns and at least one Seminole town.[82] Fat King of Cussita, Tussekiah Micco of Upatoi (Cussita's

[82] For the treaty and list of signers, see Treaty of Galphinton, 11/12/1785, in RC, 390-391. "Warrior King [of Upatoi]," "O'Kemulgey Tuskonucky [Okmulgee Warrior]," "Tuskia Mikco" (duplicate; cf. "Warrior King"), "Cusrater Micko," "Enchalucko," "Pohillke Oakfuskies," "Innehana Ufollies [Eufaula Second Man]," "Abico Tuskanucky [Abeika Warrior(?)]," "Inneha Micko [Fat King]," "Yaholo Micko [Hallowing King]," "Coso Micko," "Opohelthe Micko [Tame King]," "Cuso Micko (duplicate; cf. "Coso Micko"?)," "Dickson Tallicus," "Upalahajoe," "Opoyhajoe [Hopoie Hadjo]" and "Wartucko Micko" signed the document (391). According to one report, only two towns attended the meeting; however, the report's authors left several days before the treaty was signed, meaning that additional headmen may have arrived to represent additional towns. See Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, Joseph Martin, and Lachlan McIntosh to Charles Thompson/ Henry Knox, 11/17/1785, Keowee, in *American State Papers*,

sole village settlement),[83] Eufaula's Second Man (or Heniha),[84] Hallowing King of Coweta, perhaps a warrior from Okmulgee town,[85] and a Seminole warrior named Hopoie Hadjo all put their mark to the treaty.[86] Why the Lower Creeks and one Seminole headman agreed to the "temporary line," which would have reduced the acreage of hunting lands available to them, is unclear, although they may have been tempted by trade. As stipulated in Article 9, "the trade . . . shall be carried on as heretofore."[87] What is clear, however, is that Fat King's and Tame King's efforts to cultivate support from the Lower towns since 1782 *vis-à-vis* the Americans continued to bear fruit.

In fact, in the months following Galphinton the Cussita-Tallassee coalition reached a high-water mark. That change was spurred by cross-cultural violence. In the spring of 1786, a party of Creeks killed several Americans and burned some "habitations" near the Oconee Cession. American officials suspected that McGillivray had sent the war

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Indian Affairs (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1832), 1:16 (hereafter cited as ASPIA), enclosed in Henry Knox to President George Washington, 7/6/1789, ASPIA 1:15.

[83] For Upatoi (or "Auputtaue"), see Benjamin Hawkins, "A sketch of the Creek Country in the years 1798 and 1799," in *Letters, Journals and Writings of Benjamin Hawkins*, ed. C. L. Grant (Savannah: Beehive Press, 1980), 1:311. In 1798 or 1799, Hawkins visited Upatoi, where he met "all the men at the house of Tussekiah Micco; that Chief addressed" Hawkins accordingly: "'. . . I have been six years at this village and we have not a man here, or belonging to our village, who ever stole a horse from or did any injury to a white man.'" This talofa may have been founded as early as the mid-eighteenth century (Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 96, 143, 170). Tussekiah Mico also means Warrior King (RC, 596n40).

[84] Eufaulas lived on both the lower Chattahoochee and middle Tallapoosa Rivers (Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 29, 63-64).

[85] In the early nineteenth century, as reported by a "Capt. Young," "Oakmulges" had a population of 220 people and resided east of the Flint River, near "Talle-whe-anas," which itself was "not far from Chehaws." Chehaw was a Hitchiti town. See Swanton, *Early History*, 409. For the location of "Talle-whe-anas" (Otellewhoyanunau), see Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 29.

[86] Editor's note, RC, 597n47.

[87] Treaty of Galphinton, 11/12/1785, RC, 390-391.

party so as to keep the Americans away from the region.[88] As tensions on the frontier escalated, the Cussita-Tallassee coalition hosted three meetings aimed at restoring order along the contested Oconee watershed. Those meetings reflected a tremendous growth in the allied members of the Cussita-Tallassee coalition. In the first meeting, "Headmen and Warriors of the Lower Creek[s]" assembled in Cussita in April 1786. Leaders appointed Fat King and "Folottivyege" of Chehaw ("Chehauess"), a Hitchiti town, as speakers. In a talk addressed to Georgia, they advised the state to ignore McGillivray's "baed Talk in the upper[?] Touns," seeking to convince the Georgians that "Our people"—the "Lower touns"—preferred peace. The headmen warned Georgia, however, that Creek-American peace was contingent on that state's respect for the Oconee River boundary. For instance, Fat King and Folottivyege prohibited settlement "any Whaer Over the Ockoney River."[89]

Two months later, on June 4, ten Lower Creek towns assembled for a second meeting in Cussita. Fat King was selected again as "Speacer [*sic*]" for the "Kings[,] Beloved men[,] and Warriors of the Lower Creek[s]." In that capacity, Fat King addressed a message to the Creeks' U.S. agent, Daniel McMurphy. Condemning the springtime raid, Fat King opined that the warriors had operated "against the will" of the headmen currently assembled in front of McMurphy. Fat King hoped that the Americans might remain calm while the "Beloved man," meaning McMurphy, visited the "upper

[88] Enclosure of treaty minutes in John Habersham to Edward Telfair, 10/25/1786, "Shoulder Bone," Telamon Cuyler Collection, SNAD.

[89] Lower Creeks to Georgia "Governor" and "comissionors", 4/23/1786, "Cussitau Squaer," Telamon Cuyler Collection, SNAD.

towns" to see where they stood in the matter. The Cussita speaker closed by reiterating that "we" on the Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers "mean Nothing but peace."[90]

Piggybacking on the Lower Creeks, Okfuskee hosted the third and last coalition meeting on June 25. Thirteen Upper Creek towns attended in McMurphy's presence.[91] Upper Creek headmen elected Tame King as speaker and ceremoniously called him the "good child of the Halfe way house." This title reflected his recent migration upriver from his former town of Tallassee to his new town, Halfway House, symbolizing the Tallassees' preference to reside halfway between their Lower and Upper Creek allies. Tame King addressed a message to Georgia, saying that the Creeks were a "poore people" who wanted to keep the trade path "open and Streight." He admitted that there were "bad talks hear [*sic*] amongst us," yet explained that they were "not [given] by the Consint of" all Creeks. Tame King implicitly attacked the legitimacy of McGillivray and the Tuckabatchee-Little Tallassee coalition in order to uphold the legitimacy of his own coalition partners.[92]

The Okfuskee and Cussita meetings occurred successively within weeks of each other, suggesting that coalition leaders coordinated the three meetings. The Cussita-Tallassee coalition had become a highly organized political unit in post-revolutionary Creek country. By adding the number of participating towns in the second and third

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[90] Lower Creeks to Georgia, 6/4/1786, Cussita, pp. 1-2, Telamon Cuyler Collection, SNAD.

[91] Possibly, White Lieutenant of Okfuskee brokered this meeting. He was born to a Creek woman and a Euro-American father, making him "'a half breed'" (Piker, *Okfuskee*, 140). It is unclear whether the "White" in his name signaled his racial status or the color of peace.

[92] Upper Creeks to Georgia, 6/25/1786, Okfuskee ("Aukfuskey Towne"), pp. 1-2, Telamon Cuyler Collection, SNAD. Tame King told Georgia that the Creeks could not commit to a foreign policy without a meeting of "all the towns" at "Tuckabatchey Square," soon to take place.

assemblies—ten in Cussita, thirteen in Okfuskee—we may assume that the coalition boasted a total of twenty-three towns in late June 1786. The coalition reached its apex by that point. Far from the scholarly notion that Fat King and Tame King lacked real power among Creeks in this period, their coalition was woven from an influential multitude of Lower and Upper Creek towns.

In late October 1786, about three hundred Creek "men, women, and children" traveled to a tributary of the Oconee known as Shoulderbone Creek. There, they held a third and final treaty conference with Georgia.[93] Clearly, that figure demonstrates the growth of the coalition in Creek-American treaty conferences. On the other hand, the delegation represented perhaps only fifteen of the twenty-three towns that had participated in the three political gatherings in Cussita and Okfuskee earlier that summer.[94] That diminishment, however, is explained by geopolitical realities. Since Georgia had expanded into areas where the Lower Creeks and Seminoles hunted, headmen from only those towns decided to treat with state authorities. Georgian expansion was a Lower Creek issue. In fact, most headmen attended from among the Lower towns, including Cussita, Coweta, Apalachicola, and Upatoi, and at least one from a Seminole town.[95] Trade was always a motivating factor, too, for the delegation

[93] According to Linder to Favrot, 11/13/1786, "Tinsa [Tensaw?]," SMV, 3:189, four hundred "Talapoosa" Indians attended (and for quote). For two hundred in attendance, see John Habersham to Edward Telfair, 10/19/1786, Camp Shoulder Bone, in Box 3, Edward Telfair Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University. I averaged the figures at three hundred Creeks.

[94] For "fifteen" attending towns, see John Habersham (a Georgia commissioner) to John Houstoun, 10/26/1786, "Camp" near the Oconee, p. 4, Keith Read Collection, KRC093, SNAD.

[95] See Treaty of Shoulderbone Creek, 11/3/1786, RC, 435-436. The treaty lists fifty-nine signing headmen, but because at least four of these names are duplicates, I believe only fifty-five headmen signed the treaty. The list of signers includes: "Cusa Mico," "Ninnehomohta Tuste,"

probably hoped to persuade Georgia to fulfill its trading obligations as stipulated in the treaties of Augusta and Galphinton.

Georgia used threats of violence to get its way. As soon as the Creeks arrived at Shoulderbone Creek, an isolated area "in the middle of the woods," some "three thousand armed Americans hidden nearby . . . surrounded them and made them all prisoners."[96] Negotiations began in late October and lasted until November 3, when a treaty was signed. With the Creeks under military guard, Georgia commissioners demanded that Creeks, at some point after the conference, execute any six Creeks to atone for the deaths

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"Nuckie Mico," "Mico Chee," "Hothlepoya Mico," "Opohethle Mico, or Tallisee king," "Opaya Lata," "Opaya Hajo," "Eufala Teslonoky," "Okellasa Hajo," "Eneathlaco Opaya," "Wawlata Mico," "Opaya Emathla," "Ockehan Hajo," "Olackta," "Tuljisca Mico," "Tusto Nuckie," "Hottesy Mico," "Osuchee Mathta," "Cussita Mico," "Enea Mico" (duplicate), "Enea Thlaco," "Epha Tusto Nuckie," "Espane Tusto Nukis," "Goppitchu Tusto Nuckie," "Oke Lesa" (duplicate?), "Cousa Tustomuckie," "Yahola Mico," "Econehot Hajo," "Cusa Mico" (duplicate), "Cuchas Mico," "Ochunnee Hola," "Fousachee Mico," "Holau Hajo," "Tusikia Mico," "Ausunuck Tustonuckie," "Tusikia Mico" (duplicate), "Jeomy Justo Nuckie," "Tolobe Mathla," "Hitcheta Mico," "Opaye Justo Nuchie," "Tusto Nuchie," "Aulack Hajo," "Enea Thlaco," "Hopaye Mico," "Othlepoya Mico" (duplicate), "Chuwackle Mico," "Eneuthlocko," "Olacte Emathla," "Muojoy," "Hallatoweigie," "Will Jones," "Chatossaha," "Sokakonay," "Cuchas Hajo," "Toutkis Hajo," "Opayouchee," "Tusk Encha," and "Wakse Hajo." Doubtless four names are duplicates, perhaps forgeries. Thus, fifty-five legitimate headmen appear in the list. Because several names are war titles, they are probably not duplicates. Three other headmen also attended the conference, but may not have signed, including "Suckawockie, brother to" Cuchas Hajo of Cussita; "Emathlocks, second man of the Broken Arrow," a Coweta village; and "Enautaleche, nephew to the head man of the Swaglos." These three headmen are listed with "Chuuocklie Micko, of the Cowetas," and "Cuchas, of the Cussetas," in Article 12 (RC, 435). The five men served as hostages to enforce Article 12. "Swaglos" refers to Sauwoogelo, a Hitchiti town (Swanton, *Early History*, 11). For "Big" and "Little" Sauwoogelo, see Swanton, *Early History*, 141-143, 143.

Although Habersham indicated that "fifteen" towns attended, based on the list of signers only six (five talwas, one talofa) can be identified with any reasonable accuracy. See: "Opohethle Mico, or Tallisee king" attended for Tallassee; "Cussita Mico," "Enea Mico [Fat King]," and "Cuchas Hajo" for Cussita; "Yahola Mico [Hallowing King]" and "Chuwackle Mico" for Coweta; "Tusikia Mico [Warrior King]" for Upatoi, the Cussita talofa; and "Aulack Hajo [Alec Hajo]" of Yumersee, a Seminole town. One or more leaders from Apalachicola likely attended as well; see McGillivray to Favrot, 11/8/1786, Little Tallassee, SMV, 3:189.

[96] Linder to Favrot, 11/13/1786, "Tinsa," SMV, 3:189.

of those settlers who had perished in the Oconee raid earlier in the year. Creek delegates blamed the attack on two white men who lived in Creek society and suggested that because "two Indians" had perished in the raid, the matter ought to be concluded. The commissioners rejected that line of reason. Instead, they demanded that six hostages return to Georgia following the conference to enforce the proposed executions. Georgia's aggressive tactics caused at least one headman and nine of "his Warriours" to flee the area. Still under military guard, the Creeks eventually consented to the hostage proposal. On November 3, fifty-five headmen signed a treaty that confirmed the Oconee Cession, and that stipulated that headmen must execute six Creeks if the hostages were to be ransomed.[97]

Whether the Creeks executed the six ringleaders is unconfirmed, but Cussita leaders managed to ransom the hostages, two of whom were Cussitas. To do so, it allied with the Yuchi village of Padjeeligau, several of whose townspeople were Cussita migrants. In the spring of 1787, headmen from each of these polities co-authored a message to Georgia, pleading for the release of the hostages whose "friends and [clan] relations," they explained, "Grow very uneasy." The headmen argued that punishing the

[97] Unfortunately, we don't know whether the Creeks executed six victims. For negotiations, see John Habersham (a Georgia commissioner) to John Houstoun, 10/26/1786, "Camp" near the Oconee, pp.1-4, Keith Read Collection, SNAD; and Creeks to commissioners, 10/22/1786, Oconee River, pp. 1-2, Telamon Cuyler Collection, SNAD. Although Tame King "for once in his life behaved like a Man" and "thundered out a furious Talk" against the hostage proposal (McGillivray to Governor Arturo O'Neill, 12/3/1786, Little Tallassee, RC, 437), he consented to having the "murders kild" (Galphin to commissioners, 10/26/1786, p. 3, Telamon Cuyler Collection, SNAD). For the twelve articles of the treaty, see Treaty of Shoulderbone Creek, 11/3/1786, RC, 433-435. The five hostages were Lower Creeks: "Suckawockie, brother to" Cuchas Hajo of Cussita; "Cuchas, of the Cussetas"; "Emathlocks, second man of the Broken Arrow," a Coweta talofa; "Chuuocklie Micko, of the Cowetas"; and "Enautaleche, nephew to the head man of the Swaglos" (Article 12, RC, 435).

Lower Creeks for the Upper Creek-led Oconee raid was unfair, and that "detaining [the hostages] will be no restraint on the Bad inclind people of the upper Towns who do not wish them ever to return." As a result, the headmen apprised Georgia that "We your friends and Brothers of roust [Padjeeligau] and Cussetas Can Speak for ourselves."[98] Their exertions paid off. Sometime in 1787, the new U.S. Agent to the Southern Indians, James White, convinced Georgia to release the five captives.[99]

Renewed Georgian aggression during the summer of 1787 spurred a rapprochement between the two Creek coalitions. At that time, the Georgia militia attacked one or several Lower Creek settlements, resulting in the deaths of twelve Creeks.[100] McGillivray reported to Arturo O'Neill that the militia "Scalped & otherwise abused the dead bodys in a Shamefull manner." To protect their people, Fat King and Tame King requested military aid from the Spanish via McGillivray, who gave them "Certificates . . . to receive [Spanish] ammunition."[101] Weeks later, Fat King messaged Georgia Governor George Mathews, indicting him for allowing settlers to "[destroy]" twelve of "our people." He reasoned that Georgia had violated the Shoulderbone Creek treaty, which stipulated that "no hasty revenges shoud be taken in future[?] by either

[98] Padjeeligau and Cussita to Georgia governor (interpreted by Timothy Barnard and recorded by Abner Hammond), 5/1/1787, Padjeeligau, pp. 1-2, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC672, SNAD, enclosed in Timothy Barnard to Georgia governor, pp. 1-2, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC673, SNAD. For Padjeeligau as Buzzard Roost and a "Yuchi satellite town," see Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 64.

[99] For information on White, appointed in October 1786, see RC, 362, 599n19, and 600n22. According to the editor, "White secured their release before he returned to New York" (600n22).

[100] Fat King and McGillivray to Georgia, 7/27/1787, Cussita, p. 1-2, enclosed in Barnard to George Mathews, 8/1/787, Telamon Cuyler Collection, SNAD. Possibly, the "Oakgees" first attacked the frontier, which prompted Georgia's response; see Fat King and Hallowing King to Matthews, 6/14/1787, Cussita, ASPIA, 1:32.

[101] McGillivray to O'Neill, 6/30/1787, Little Tallassee, PLC, reel 3, frame569.

Side" until both sides negotiated a satisfactory arrangement. To that end, Fat King argued that the settlers were a "mad people" who must "fall for Satisfaction. (tis our Custom so [to] give it.) [Then the] tears of the relations of the dead will be dried up & our hearts" will no longer be "hot[?] against you." To restore peaceable relations, they suggested, Georgia must obey Creek clan law—or else war might erupt. Demonstrating a newfound unity in Creek society, McGillivray signed Fat King's message. The two coalitions had dissolved into one another.[102]

In the summer of 1787, too, the Creeks coordinated internationally with other Native populations to resist the expansion of America into the Native South. Fat King and Hallowing King reported to Governor Mathews on June 14 that "We have had a meeting lately with the Northward Indians."[103] That meeting, in turn, was referenced by a Chickasaw headman who, two weeks earlier (June 1), informed Spanish official Carlos de Grande-Pré that a "confederated league [was] just formed by the Talapoosas [i.e., Creeks] . . . in conjunction with" the Shawnees, Panimahas ("Lobos"), Cherokees, Abenakis, and "half" of the Chickasaws. Allying with Spain, the pan-tribal league planned to attack the Americans in the Mississippi delta. While the Creeks were to "ruin all the villages that have taken sides with the Americans," the remaining Indian groups were supposed "to surprise and destroy the Americans established" at or near the Chickasaw Bluffs along with American-allied Chickasaws. Grand-Pré's letter fails to clarify which Creek towns had confederated with the other Indians. But it seems certain

[102] Fat King and McGillivray to Georgia, 7/27/1787, Cussita, p. 1-2, enclosed in Barnard to Mathews, 8/1/787, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC906, SNAD.

[103] Fat King and Hallowing King to Governor Mathews, 6/14/1787, Cussita, ASPIA 1:32.

that members of both of the former Creek coalitions joined in this endeavor, given their shared distrust of America and especially Georgia.[104]

This chapter has shown that Creek headmen survived the American Revolution by organizing their towns into structured coalitions from 1775 to 1787. In 1775 and 1776, several Lower Creek towns forged economic ties with the Americans, doing so with the tools of kinship. To counter that alliance and to preserve ties with Stuart, Tuckabatchee and Little Tallassee headmen launched a coalition among the Upper Creeks and with Coweta's Sempeyoffee. Weeks later, a partnership among Tallassee and Okfuskee coalesced into an alliance with Cussita and the Hitchiti-speaking towns on the Chattahoochee River. The Cussita-Tallassee coalition hammered out a relationship with both the Americans and British. After Britain's defeat at Yorktown, Fat King and Tame King amplified their relations with America, while Mad Dog and Alexander McGillivray fastened an alliance with Spain, which emerged as a somewhat useful counterweight to America.

The emergence, operation, and fluctuations within each coalition suggest that Creek society in the revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods resembled neither a

[104] Carlos de Grande-Pré to Governor General Estevan Miró, 6/1/1787, "Fort Panmure of Natchez," SMV, 3:210 (additional quotes from document removed). The "uncle" of Grand-Pré's Chickasaw informant was the "Great Chief Takapoumas," who was the "faithful son and friend of his fathers, the Spaniards" (210). For the Panimahas or "Wolf Indians" who lived near the Missouri River, see Miró to Josef Antonio Rengel, Commandant of the Interior Provinces, "A Description of [Spanish] Louisiana," 12/12/1785, SMV, 3:163. The Abenakis were an Algonkian-speaking group from New England. In a related matter, the "chief called Unzaga Champaña, of the Chitimachá nation [of Louisiana]" reported to a Spanish official that Unzaga had "learned for certain that the Alibamon nation of the neighborhood of Mobile, allied with the Talapoosa" were preparing to "attack" and "destroy" the Chitimachas in "autumn"; see Francisco Rivas to Miró, 8/13/1787, Fort Bute de Manchac, SMV, 3:231.

centralized indigenous nation nor a decentralized town world.[105] On one hand, the formation of two town-based coalitions rather than one National Council-oriented coalition indicates that the Creek "Nation" remained only an elusive concept that had little meaning in the Creeks' town- and kin-based world. On the other hand, though, Creek headmen organized their towns into impressive blocs that searched for trade goods and whose political mechanics shaped diplomacy between Creeks and outsider peoples, including the Euro-Americans and other Native groups. Towns formed the political basis of both coalitions, and networks of kinship intermittently shaped diplomatic exchanges between those towns and outsiders. Almost no evidence reveals how clans structured the coalitions from within, but a limited number of records suggest that coalition leaders used the symbols and language of kinship to forge ties with, for example, Galphin and Rea.

By politically organizing into town-based coalitions, the Creeks navigated the dangers of Atlantic revolution with success. Scholars have overlooked the ways in which Creek headmen protected their towns from warfare, having dealt with the competing Euro-American powers as fluid, formidable coalitions. By contrast, the Creeks' eastern neighbors were ill-organized and suffered from American violence. In 1776 and again in 1780, the Southern colonies laid waste to Cherokee country where rebel militias destroyed numerous Cherokee towns and cornfields. The destruction of Cherokee society precipitated famine, land loss, and dislocation, and many Cherokees took refuge among the Creeks.[106] The Cherokees' close proximity to the Southern backcountry explains why

[105] For "nation," see Hahn, *Invention*, 274-275; for decentralization, see, Braund, *Deerskins*, 139.

[106] Calloway, *American Revolution*, 197-198, 204, 211.

the Southern colonies crushed the Cherokees. Fortunately, the Creeks, Chickasaws, and Choctaws lived hundreds of miles west of the main theater of war. Yet, aside from geography, the Creeks preserved a measure of order and trade by organizing into coalitions that kept the Americans, British, and Spanish at bay.

CHAPTER V

THE THREE RIVERS RESOLUTION

In the late 1780s and early 1790s, the acceleration of U.S. expansion into the Native South engulfed the Creeks in a two-front war. On the eastern and northern sides of Creek country, Americans settled in unprecedented numbers on hunting grounds along the Oconee, Tennessee, Tombigbee, and Cumberland Rivers. Creek warriors defended those lands by attacking the newcomers' settlements, sometimes doing so in partnership with other Indian warriors. In turn, Americans raided Creek towns or killed Creek hunters in the woods and valleys of the region. Additionally, the growth of American homesteads at Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River and of the Cumberland Settlements along the Cumberland River interrupted the winter hunting season of the Upper Creeks and Chickasaws. Ever since the colonial era, these Indians hunted white-tailed deer and other fur-bearing animals so that they could sell the skins for American and Spanish trade goods. Those hunters eventually came to blows in 1793, triggering the Creek-Chickasaw War (1793-1797) (see map in Figure 12).

For the most part, scholars examining post-revolutionary Creek history focus on U.S.-Indian frontier conflict. Robbie Ethridge argues that people of all racial stripes engaged in property theft that generated endless violence on the Southern frontier, where whites stole horses from Indians, Indians from whites, and Indians from Indians. When

someone was caught in the act, he might be killed. If an Indian was killed, his clan might seek retribution, which only escalated violence on the frontier. Moreover, drunken brawls erupted between Indians and whites in roadside taverns and on isolated roads, and unscrupulous land speculators plied Indians with rum in the attempt to secure illegal land cessions.[1] As well, Angela Pulley Hudson explores the impact of colonization on cross-cultural relations. She contends that a number of factors, including property disputes, American settlement along the Oconee and Okmulgee Rivers, and the passage of thousands of Americans through Creek country, challenged Creeks' conceptions of mobility and space. Colonization hindered travel and communication among Creek towns, villages, and clans.[2]

By analyzing frontier warfare, however, scholars elide the Creek-Chickasaw War, which enflamed Upper Creek country between 1793 and 1797. This chapter corrects that oversight by examining how Creeks addressed both U.S.-Creek conflict *and* the Creek-

[1] For American settlement in the region, see William Panton to Esteban Miró, undated (probably sometime in 1790), in D. C. Corbitt, "Some Papers Relating to Bourbon County, Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 19:3 (September 1935): 251-263, here 259 (hereafter cited as GHQ). For pan-Indian war parties, see Simon Favre to Vicente Folch y Juan, 4/12/1790, "Choctaws," in "Papers from the Spanish Archives Relating to Tennessee and the Old Southwest, 1783-1800," trans. and ed. D. C. Corbitt and Roberta Corbitt, *East Tennessee Historical Society* 22 (1950), 145 (hereafter cited as ETHS, volume number, page number). Nephew of Governor Miró, Vicente Folch was commandant of Mobile from 1781 to 1795 and governor of Pensacola from 1795 to 1811 (145n66). At times, Creeks and white men made common cause by participating in an illicit trade in alcohol and guns. See Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 112-113, 181-186. According to Ethridge, "Stealing had no political, national, or ethnic bounds. Everyone stole from everyone else" (182). For the sorts of goods stolen, see p. 182.

[2] Angela Pulley Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves and the Making of the American South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010). Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), interprets frontier conflict as a proxy for emergent class divisions in the Native South. For other analyses of frontier conflict, see Joshua Haynes, "Patrolling the Border: Theft and Violence on the Creek-Georgia Frontier, 1770-1796" (PhD diss., 2013), http://history.uga.edu/sites/default/files/CVs/haynes_joshuacv.pdf (accessed 9 August 2015).

Chickasaw War.[3] I argue that Creek headmen attempted to suppress each conflict by chartering a peace-keeping initiative referred to hereafter as the "Three Rivers Resolution." I have culled the American and Spanish records to piece together the origins of the Resolution and its impact on Southern international relations. Framed by Creek headmen in the spring of 1793, the Resolution promoted diplomacy with the U.S. in order to preserve the U.S.-Creek trading relationship, since the Creeks remained dependent, in part, on American goods in this period. Additionally, headmen designed this policy in order to reduce Creek-Chickasaw animosity. The Resolution takes its name from Cussita headmen who announced to U.S. authorities in April 1793 that "The three rivers have talked, and wished for peace." This quote invoked the dozens of towns that clustered along the Chattahoochee, Tallapoosa, and Coosa Rivers.[4]

The Three Rivers Resolution officially codified the participation of towns and clans in Creek political and diplomatic affairs. It is no accident that headmen crafted the Resolution on the heels of Alexander McGillivray's death in February 1793. Since the 1780s, as Claudio Saunt argues, McGillivray had attempted to forge a "Nation" with

[3] James R. Atkinson, *Splendid Land, Splendid People: The Chickasaw Indians to Removal* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 139-179, investigates the Creek-Chickasaw War from the Chickasaws' perspective, but fails to consider the ways in which intertribal and Indian-settler conflict shaded into one another.

[4] Bird Tail King ("BIRD KING") and Cussita Mico ("CUSSETAH KING") to Major Henry Gaither, 4/13/1793, Cussita, in *American State Papers. Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, from the First Session of the First to the Third Session of the Thirteenth Congress, Inclusive: Commencing March 3, 1789, and Ending March 3, 1815*, ed. Walter Lowrie and Matthew St. Clair Clarke (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1832), 1:420 (hereafter cited as ASPIA, volume number, page number), enclosed in Henry Gaither to Henry Knox, 4/19/1793, Fort Fidius, ASPIA, 1:419. U.S. Deputy Agent Timothy Barnard called it a "resolution"; see Barnard to Gaither, 6/21/1793, Flint River, ASPIA 1:422.

centralized authority aimed at blocking U.S. expansion.[5] The framers of the Three Rivers Resolution partially met McGillivray's goals. While in many cases they united against the Americans, this policy sprang from a cross-town coalition, forged from the ground up, and not foisted onto Creek towns from the top down. Thus, the Resolution did not resemble McGillivray's nation-building project; rather, it recognized and drew upon the agency of individual towns. Precisely because this policy took shape from the bottom up, it rested on a political foundation rendered unstable by the families that lived within the towns and provinces of Creek society. Consequently, the fulfillment of retaliation obligated clans to attack the Americans and Chickasaws. Indeed, the term "The three rivers" captures the competing community loyalities of the headmen announcing the policy. Although the Chattahoochee, Tallapoosa, and Alabama River towns agreed to work together to promote peace, the clans that lived along those rivers frequently took revenge on their enemies, breaking away from the policy to service localized kinship interests.

The persistence of community influence in late-eighteenth-century Creek politics revises the scholarly notion of a "generational conflict" between Native elites and commoners. According to Gregory Evans Dowd, the Southern Indians' dependence on trade goods and the debt it generated caused many young "nativist" Southern Indian warriors to defy their "accommodationist" village leaders by raiding American settlements, typically in union with the Western Indian Confederacy.[6] Likewise, Saunt

[5] Saunt, *New Order*, 67-110.

[6] For the generational thesis, Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University

and Tiya Miles demonstrate that class divisions arose between elites and commoners since a minority of Native elites abandoned the hunt, accepted Euro-American norms of property and power, and amassed new forms of wealth, such as African American slaves, livestock, and other private property. As a result, rich headmen made market-oriented decisions that harmed poor commoners in Creek and Cherokee societies.[7]

While the generational thesis reveals the ways in which age and economy placed a wedge between elites and commoners, it misses the bottom line in Southern Indian societies: rule by consensus. Since Creek society lacked enforcement mechanisms to implement policy, clans and towns required their leaders to rule by majority interest, which necessitated the construction of coalitions to get things done. Communities were willing to (and did) listen to their leaders, but only insofar as those leaders made a compelling argument that a majority should pursue some course of action. If they did not, communities resisted or simply went their own way. Creek division resulted therefore from cultural, not generational, imperatives. To demonstrate this, I will occasionally examine the custom of clan retaliation. The generational school misses those moments when retaliation obligated both commoners *and* headmen to launch a raid. Moreover, it also overlooks the fact that headmen had to *persuade* warriors to withhold

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Press, 1992), especially 90-115, 148-166; Braund, *Deerskins*, 156-163; Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 182-212; Saunt, *New Order*, 81-82, 81n64, 81n65, 104-109; and Greg O'Brien, *Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age, 1750-1830* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 46-48.

[7] For Creeks, see Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 175-194; Saunt, *New Order*, 90-110, 205-229; and Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 67-89, 121-166. For Cherokees, see "The Census of 1835," in Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*, 2nd ed. (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005), 25-26, 54-57 (census); and Tiya Miles, *Ties that Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), .

retaliation; headmen could not physically force them to do so. Consensual power, then, shaped the decision to attack an enemy or remain cool-headed.[8]

[8] Saunt, *New Order*, 90-110 argues that headmen coerced warriors into not carrying out retaliation against the Americans. By contrast, I will show that leaders relied on consensual patterns of authority to persuade warriors to withhold retaliation on the Americans. Moreover, his argument neglects the fact that during the Creek-Chickasaw War, headmen and warriors vigorously obeyed clan justice.

Table 5. Creek Coalitions in the Late Eighteenth Century.

Coalitions	Participating provinces, towns and talofas	Major leaders	Major towns involved in Creek-Chickasaw War
- Coalition of 1793, resulting in Three Rivers Resolution	- Lower Creek: Cussita, Upatoi (talofa), Hitchiti Town, Coweta, Chehaw, Broken Arrow (talofa), Ouseechee, Sauwoogelo - Tallapoosa: Tuckabatchee - Abeika: Okfuskee - Alabama: Little Tallassee/Hickory Ground	- Bird Tail King of Cussita - Mad Dog of Tuckabatchee - White Lieutenant of Okfuskee	- Tuckabatchee, Woccoccoie, Coosa, Aubecooche
- Coalition of May-October 1794, resulting in defense of Oconee boundary	- Lower Creek: Cussita, Coweta, Broken Arrow (talofa), Ouseechee, Chehaw -Tallapoosa: Tuckabatchee, Tallassee, Hoithlewaulee, White Ground, Muccolossus -Abeika: Okfuskee, Kialijee -Alabama: Tuskegee, Hickory Ground, Coosada	- Cussita Mico -Mad Dog of Tuckabatchee	

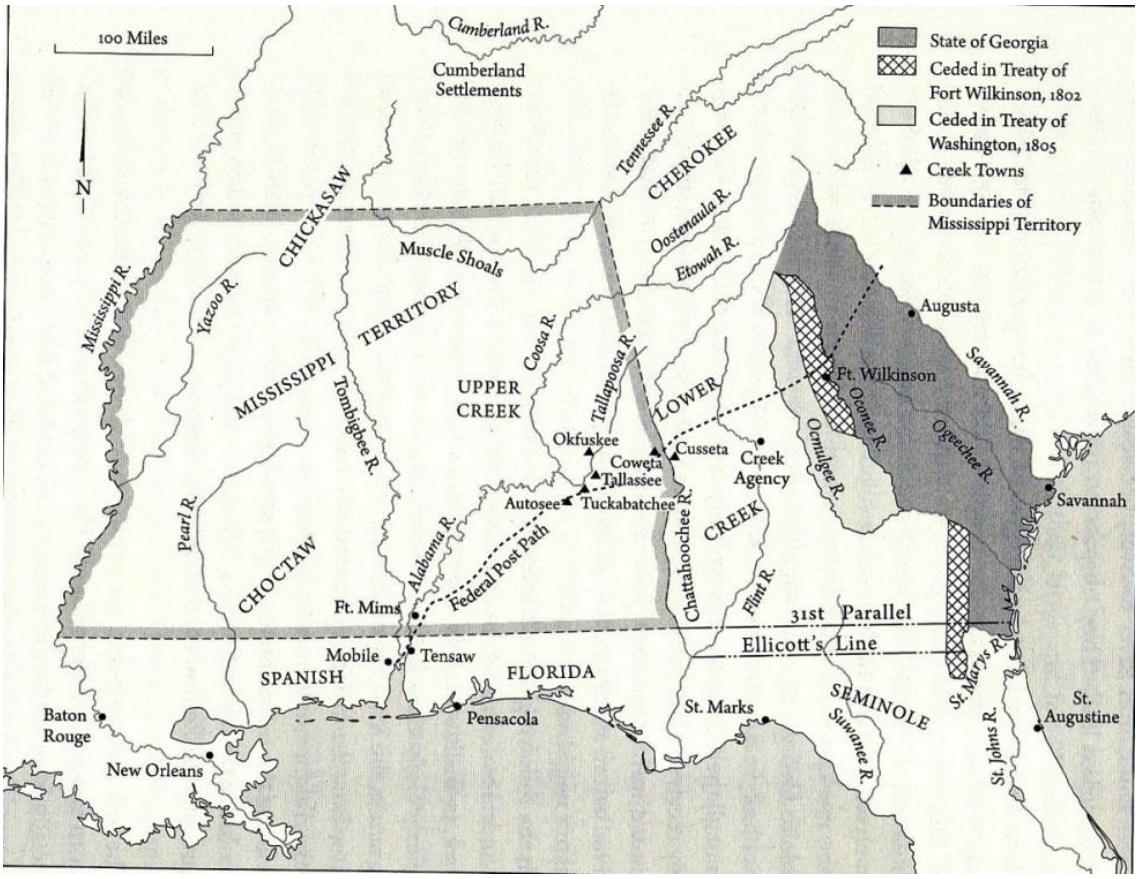

Figure 12. The Native South in 1805. Upper Creeks and Chickasaws hunted fur-bearing animals along the Tombigbee and Tennessee Rivers, in part provoking conflict between the two groups. The Muscle Shoals communities and Cumberland Settlements lay north of Upper Creek country. *Source*: Angela Pulley Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves and the Making of the American South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), p. 52 (Map 2).

American expansion provoked conflict with Creeks across the Native South. In some cases, rumor led to death. In late July of 1787, two white men known only as "Jones and Jarvis" arrived in Padjeeligau, a Yuchi talofa, with a "negroe boy." Jones and Jarvis told the inhabitants there that "Six hundred men" were assembling near the Oconee, poised to fall on Padjeeligau, and that those soldiers had already killed two Cussitas, Padjeeligau's allies. Upon hearing the news, the Padjeeligau people killed Jones and Jarvis, and within "twenty four hours," Padjeeligau runners had notified the "whole nation" of the purported Oconee invasion force. Hundreds of warriors from the "lower" and "upper" towns prepared to march on the Oconee to defend their people. Before leaving, however, the African American "boy" apprised the Creek headmen that, in truth, Jones and Jarvis actually killed the Cussitas and fabricated the story about the six-hundred-man force. Apprised of the facts, the "cussetaw people" sent out runners to turn back the Creek warriors.[9]

[9] Timothy Barnard to Governor Mathews (?), 8/18/1787, "flint river lower Creeks," pp. 1-3, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC671, *Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842*, Digital Library of Georgia, <http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu> (hereafter cited as SNAD). The two Cussitas seem to have been killed near Rock Landing on the Oconee. Barnard's report on the American attack reads: "there come in a runer from the cheroke river that one hundred and thirty of the cumberland people pilated by two chickesaw Indins, had marched agains Some french trader that had felled a tradeing house below the mussel Sholes and the cheroke river, and killed Indians and all that fell in there way, those were killed were two creeks, one a lower and one an upper creek fellow, two northward indians, two chickesaws, their friends two frenchmen, Six chero[added: kees] and caried of Several cheroke women and children prisonors" (pp. 2-3). Curiously, six Padjeeligau Creeks were killed by Georgia settlers near the Oconee on June 3 or 4, 1787, yet these deaths are not mentioned in Barnard's 8/18 report. For the six deaths, see Barnard to Mathews, 6/8/1787, "flint river," pp. 1-2, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC674, SNAD.

Only days later, the Creeks learned that Americans from the Cumberland Settlements had killed several Indians, including a Lower and Upper Creek each.[10] The law of retaliation required the appropriate families to mete out punishment. Consequently, by August 18 the Upper Creeks had "gone oute" against the Cumberland but failed to kill an American. For their part, "fat King and [the] rest of the head men of the lower creeks" craved satisfaction for the death of the Lower Creek man.[11] Although evidence does not confirm whether the Lower Creeks secured revenge, we know that Creeks attacked American settlers near the Oconee Cession throughout 1788. In one example, a Georgia militia officer reported in March that "a great number of Indians," probably Creeks, killed and scalped a man named "Hogans" in the vicinity of present-day Macon, Georgia. Warriors also "Killed Mr David Jackson['s] Family Consisting of his Brother and wife four Children and Two Negroes and Scaulped another Small Girl[.]"[12] In another Georgia settlement, Creek raiders made off with several cattle, horses, and hogs as well as five slaves. They also killed two slaves and torched five houses.[13]

Creek leaders tried to rescind the Oconee Cession since it was the primary cause of U.S.-Creek conflict. In April 1789, Alexander McGillivray, Tame King, and Hallowing King of Coweta conferred with the U.S. Superintendent of Indian affairs, James White, and Commissioners Timothy Barnard and John Galphin, a son of the

[10] Timothy Barnard to Governor Mathews (?), 8/18/1787, "flint river lower Creeks," pp. 1-3, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC671, SNAD.

[11] Barnard to Governor Mathews (?), 8/18/1787, "Flint river," pp. 1-2, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC675, SNAD.

[12] Jared Irwin to John Twiggs, 3/26/1788, Washington Country, Georgia, pp. 3-4, enclosed in Twiggs to Georgia Governor, 3/28/1788, in Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC306, SNAD.

[13] John Burnett, deposed to Alexander Bessett, 10/31/1791, location (?), p. 1, C. Mildred Thompson Collection, CMT008, SNAD. Burnett's account refers to depredations in 1788.

Augusta trader, George Galphin. They met near the Oconee River, perhaps at the Rock Landing settlement. Opening the talks, McGillivray told the assembled Creeks that White would objectively evaluate the Oconee Cession, leading Tame King to remark that the Georgians, with "long knives in their hands," had coerced him into ceding the Oconee lands during the Augusta treaty conference in 1783. Though Tame King had consented to the Cession in the Galphinton and Shoulderbone Creek treaties in 1785 and 1786, the hostage crisis at Shoulderbone Creek and the rapid expansion of Georgia probably accounts for why he now objected to the Cession. Hallowing King echoed Tame King's sentiment. According to the conference minutes, he "seemed . . . to speak for the Indians in general" when he told the commissioners that the U.S. Congress must intervene in the debate over the Cession. He gave "an historical account" of American expansion, which "he had seen himself, or [had] been informed [of] by older men" throughout his life. Worried that America might soon possess Creek lands, Hallowing King vowed to defend "'our lands.'"[14]

In the summer of 1790, renewed conflict resulted in several Creek deaths. On July 10, Fat King ("Cussetaw King") reported to Barnard that one week earlier, three "young" Cussita men had been hunting near Rock Landing and trading with American women in a kind of small-scale frontier exchange economy. According to Barnard, the men had been "Eateing at the white peoples houses and buyeing goods of them wich the white women had made up into Shirts and frocks for them." Later, when the Cussitas

[14] Lower Creek-Georgia conference, 4/10/1789, RC, 507-508. Tame King is referred to as the "Half-way-house king" (507). We know that James White presided at the 4/10 conference from a "*Talk*" from the "*Lower Creek Nation*" to U.S. commissioners, 6/1/1789, RC, 515-516, 516 ("Col. White").

made camp, two armed "white men" rode up on horses, demanding that the Cussitas return the goods for which they had traded. When the Indians refused, the aggressors shot them and killed one, Fat King's "nephew," who was "much beloved among his family." Although the late Cussita's "relatives might goe rashly to work to Seek [Satisfaction]," Fat King persuaded his aggrieved kin to remain calm. He told them that U.S. authorities would locate and execute any white settler who "Spilt the blood of an indian." Knowing that by fulfilling clan vengeance his family would surely provoke a reprisal by Georgia, Fat King "Says he himself and the rest of the head of the nation according to Mr. McGillivarys Instructions to them has been daily chargeing there young people to beware of commiting any violencyes on the white Settlements." Apparently, for a time, Creek warriors "*adherd to*" Fat King's advice "*Strickly*" (my emphasis).[15]

Though bound by retaliation, Fat King's family adopted a peaceful stance towards their eastern neighbors. Like Wolf of Muccolossus, who in 1756 and 1757 dissuaded his Tallapoosa relatives from launching a revenge raid on the British, Fat King convinced his family to uphold diplomacy. Headmen like Fat King and their kin relations continued to use the potential for clan-initiated violence to advance good relations and preserve trade with the United States. By doing so, Creek leaders demonstrated their capacity to rely on consensual authority to get their families to take a course of action, up to and including withholding retaliation on the U.S.

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[15] "Timy" (Timothy) Barnard to Edward Telfair (?), 7/12/1790, Flint River, pp. 1-7, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC677, SNAD. This twelve-page manuscript contains a plethora of information on Creek politics. For the concept of a "frontier exchange economy," see Daniel H. Usner, Jr., *Indians, Settlers and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

To prevent additional frontier dust-'em-ups, Creek headmen made a final bid to resolve the debate over the Oconee Cession in the summer of 1790. At that time, federal authorities hosted the Creeks at a treaty conference in the U.S. capital of New York City. On August 7, twenty-four leaders touched pen to the Treaty of New York, among them Alexander McGillivray, Bird Tail King of Cussita, and other prominent headmen.[16] Leaders authorized the Oconee Cession, thereby ceding the lands east of the Oconee to the U.S.[17] In exchange, commissioners established the annuity system, which paid an annual stipend of $1,500 to the Creeks in perpetuity.[18] As part of this cash-for-land deal, U.S. authorities rewarded specific headmen for their cooperation. Although he had

[16] J. Leitch Wright, Jr., "Creek-American Treaty of 1790: Alexander McGillivray and The Diplomacy of the Old Southwest," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 51:4 (December 1967): 379-400, argues that the treaty established the foundation of "American policy toward the southern Indians" (380). Apparently, the delegation was composed of thirty headmen, yet only twenty-four signed. Wright argues that the remaining six were probably Lower Creeks and Seminoles who had committed themselves to William Augustus Bowles. Bowles was an American adventurer who paraded as the "Chief" of the Creeks and who promised his Native allies trade goods. Naturally, he competed with McGillivray and the latter's economic allies in Panton, Leslie, and Company (392-393).

[17] For the signers, see "Treaty with the Creeks, 1790," 8/7/1790, New York, in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, compiled and ed. Charles J. Kappler (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904), 2:28-29, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol2/treaties/cre0025.htm (accessed 29 April 2015). The following headmen signed this document, in descending order (p. 28): McGillivray; Cussita's Bird Tail King ("Fuskatche Mico"), Second Man, and Blue Giver ("Halletemalthle"); Little Tallassee's Singer ("Opay Mico" or Hopoie Micco) and Samoniac ("Totkeshajou"); "Big" Tallassee's Tame King ("Hopothe Mico") and Long Side ("Opototache"); Tuckabatchee's "Young" Second Man ("Soholessee") and Alexander Cornells ("Ocheehajou"); Natchez's/Breed Camp's "Chinabie" ("the Great Natchez Warrior"), "Natsowachehee" ("the Great Natchez Warrior's Brother"), Mole ("Thakoteehee"), and "Oquakabee"; Coweta's Big (or Long) Lieutenant ("Tuskenaah"), Leader ("Homatah"), Matthews ("Chinnabie"), and Dry Pine ("Juleetaulematha"); Broken Arrow's [or Coweta's?] "Chawookly Mico"; Coosada's ("Coosades") Measurer ("Coosades Hopoy"), Misser ("Muthtee"), and Good Humor ("Stimafutchkee"); an "Alabama Chief" named Disputer ("Stilnaleeje"); and last, Okchai's ("Oaksoys") David Francis ("Mumagechee"). Joseph Cornells was the interpreter, who put his mark to the treaty (p. 29).

[18] Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 199.

argued vehemently against the Oconee Cession since 1783, McGillivray accepted a secret provision in the treaty that awarded him with an annual subsidy of $1,200 and a U.S. military commission. Moreover, a few other leaders received an annual payment of $100.[19]

When news of the concession of the Oconee lands reached Creek country in the fall of 1790, Creeks were livid. On November 13, a Georgia settler named John Bradshaw deposed to the Justice of the Peace of Wilkes County, Georgia, that he and three other "white men" had recently entered Creek country to retrieve stolen horses. When they arrived in "Coweta Town," the Indians there "seemed very surly, morose and much displeased at seeing them." Days later, the Cowetas nearly succeeded in killing the travelers. Bradshaw and his companions eventually learned that "the Indians in general were very much disatisfied with the Treaty held at New York and also with McGillivray, paying very little respect to his authority, and declaring that [the U.S.] Congress might do what they pleased with the Treaty, [but] they intended to do as they pleased with it."[20]

Bradshaw's deposition demonstrates that Creeks divided not along generational or economic lines but, instead, when headmen failed to obey consensual political norms. While scholars have pointed out that McGillivray was a wealthy slave-holding headman who likely agreed to the Cession for economic gain, the signatories, simply put, approved

[19] For the secret treaty articles, see Wright, Jr., "Creek-American Treaty," 394-395, and Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 199. To Georgia's chagrin, the New York treaty rescinded the small land cessions secured in Galphinton treaty of 1785 (Saunt, *New Order*, 80).

[20] John Bradshaw, deposed by Thomas C. Russell, 11/13/1790, Wilkes County, Georgia, enclosed in Edward Telfair to State House, 11/22/1790, Augusta, pp. 1-3, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC096, SNAD. Bradshaw heard about the Creeks' discontent from Paddy Daniel, a "white man" who lived in "a town on the Chatahootchie" (p. 2).

the land deal without securing support from the Creeks.[21] In short, they failed to build a coalition that persuaded their constituents to consent to the Oconee Cession. Creeks resisted the New York treaty from at the town level, redoubling their commitment to town-based consensual practices.

Still, although the Creeks contested the New York treaty, they traded with the Americans. Although Creeks in the late eighteenth century received a large percentage of their goods from the Spanish, they continued to rely at least partially on American factors for trade items. The Western Indian Confederacy, however, threatened to upend U.S.-Creek trade. In November 1791, the Confederacy of Miamis, Shawnees, and Delawares defeated U.S. military forces under General Arthur St. Clair. Hundreds of St. Clair's men perished in the fighting. In the wake, Confederacy diplomats invited the Creeks to join the struggle against American expansion. Demonstrating their commitment to U.S.-Creek peace and trade, the Lower Creeks objected, and in November 1792 they convened with the new U.S. Agent, James Seagrove, at Fort Coleraine on the St. Marys River. The Lower Creek delegation boasted hundreds of Lower Creeks, who were led by forty-five "principal chiefs" hailing from eighteen "principal towns."[22] They disavowed the Confederacy and, as Seagrove wrote, "declare[d] pointedly against joining the Northern

[21] Saunt, *New Order*, 67-89, 104-105; Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 198-200; and Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 32-33.

[22] Knox to Vice President, 12/16/1793, War Department, ASPIA, 1:362. For two "principal" quotes, see Seagrove to Knox, 11/22/1792, "St. Marys," ASPIA, 1:336. Many prominent Upper Creek headmen did not attend the conference, including Mad Tom and Red Shoes of Coosada, Good Hunter of "Wocke Coys" [Woccoccoie], Mad Tiger of "Sdewaetes," Mad Beaver of "Ala Bamer," Molton ("Moltanhead") of Tuskegee, White Lieutenant of Okfuskee, "Quarterroon" of Hoithlewaulee, and probably other Upper Creeks, including Old Tales ("a Warrior") and "Mad Spanyard"; see Weatherford to Seagrove, 3/9/1793, Hickory Ground, ASPIA, 1:385-386. "Wocke Coys" resembles Woccoccoie, an Upper Creek town.

tribes."[23] Betraying their need for goods, they parlayed their expressions of loyalty into a request for "corn and clothing."[24]

But while the Lower Creeks objected to the advances of the Confederacy, they maintained ties with the Spanish so as to exert leverage against the Americans. In November, headmen from the Lower Creek town of Cussita attended both the Coleraine meeting and a conference hosted by Spanish Governor of Louisiana and West Florida, Baron de Carondelet. The "Great Chief" of "Cussetaws" as well as Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Cherokee headmen convened with Carondelet in New Orleans and discussed the possibility of forming a "permanent congress composed of three chiefs" from each of the four nations. They were taking a page out of the Western Confederacy's handbook. The Governor promised to pay the "12 envoys" a total of 2,500 pesos annually for any expenses incurred in that capacity.[25]

Unfortunately, the gradual breakdown in Creek-Chickasaw relations stalled the proposed Hispano-Indian congress. As early as 1789, the Upper Creeks and Chickasaws had been raiding one another's towns for cattle, horses, and slaves. Hostilities intensified in the following years as Americans, Upper Creeks, and Chickasaws hunted for game along the Tombigbee, Tennessee, and Cumberland River valleys. To the Americans, this region was known as the "Southwest Territory," where American hunters hailed from the

[23] Seagrove to Knox, 11/22/1792, "St. Marys," ASPIA, 1:336.

[24] Whether Seagrove granted that request is unclear; see Knox to Vice President, 12/16/1793, War Department, ASPIA, 1:362.

[25] Baron de Carondelet to Conde de Aranda, 11/28/1792, New Orleans, ETHS 28 (1956), 139-141. For Cussita's attendance at Coleraine, see Panton to Carondelet, 11/6/1792, Pensacola, in *The Papers of Panton, Leslie, and Company* (Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications, 1986), reel 7 ("The Cussetaw Town & two or three Chiefs of other [Lower Creek?] Towns are gone to Saint Marys"). Hereafter cited as PLC, reel number, frame number(s).

Muscle Shoals communities and Cumberland Settlements. American expansion interfered with the Upper Creek and Chickasaw winter hunting seasons and exacerbated Creek-Chickasaw relations.[26] A turning point in Creek-Chickasaw relations came on September 30, 1792, when a war party composed of Creeks and Cherokees raided Buchanan's Station near the Cumberland settlements. During the raid, a Creek killed another Creek in order to acquire his comrade's gun, and since apparently no one witnessed the altercation, the manslayer shielded his clan from revenge by blaming the death on the Chickasaws.[27] Although the victim's family did not immediately take the life of a Chickasaw, Creek war parties did raid the Chickasaws for horses.[28] According to one report, around October, "Some Chickasaws had been sent" to the Creeks demanding "Satisfaction for the horses," but the Creeks "refused" to restore the pilfered

[26] For possible Creek-Chickasaw conflict in late 1789, see Miró to Alexander McGillivray, 4/7/1790, New Orleans, in "Papers," ETHS 22 (1950), 145n65. Creeks killed two Chickasaws and two settlers in the spring of 1789; see Piomingo to Governor of North Carolina Samuel Johnston via Joseph Martin, 9/28/1789, in Edward E. Ayer Collection, MS 722, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL. For Creek-Chickasaw animosity in 1790, see Wilkinson to Estevan Miró, 1/26/1790, Lexington, Kentucky, in "Papers from the Spanish Archives," ETHS 22 (1950), 137. For Creek-Chickasaw conflict in late 1791, see Stephen Minor to Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, 12/12/1791, Natchez, ETHS 26 (1954), 66 (the Chickasaws "expect war dayly with the Creek's"). For a good summary of Creek-Chickasaw tensions, see Gayoso to Carondelet, 1/8/1795, Natchez, ETHS 42 (1970), 105.

[27] For the September attack, see Thomas (or, perhaps, John?) Forbes to Carondelet, 11/1/1792, Mobile, ETHS 28 (1956), 131, 131n26. For the altercation, see Gayoso to Carondelet, 6/8/1793, Natchez, PLC, reel 8, frame1179. Gayoso's letter suggests that the intra-Creek dispute occurred sometime during the September attack.

[28] Gayoso reported that the aggrieved clan took vengeance by killing the "first warrior" Piomingo; see Gayoso to Carondelet, 6/8/1793, Natchez, PLC, reel 8, frame1179. That killing occurred on February 8, about four months after the initial dispute between the two Creek men. For February 8 date, see Cherokee headman Bloody Fellow to Carondelet, 2/11/1793, Choukafala (Piomingo's town), ETHS 29 (1957), 155.

property. An official of the Panton, Leslie, and Company speculated that the Chickasaws "would retalliate."[29]

To gain leverage over the Upper Creeks, Chickasaw war leader Piomingo forged a pact with the Governor of the Southwest Territory William Blount. Since the 1780s, Piomingo had earned the nickname "Mountain Leader" from the Americans, who respected his status as a powerful warrior. During the emerging conflict with the Creeks, Piomingo's American allies supplied him with ammunition and food in exchange for his agreement to prevent Chickasaw warriors from raiding U.S. settlements. Predictably, the Upper Creeks feared that Piomingo and his warriors planned an attack on their towns. So on December 10, 1792, they sent a war "talk" to the Chickasaws "announcing that they were determined to go and kill all the Whites . . . in that area [the Southwest Territory] just as they have also resolved to destroy the ammunition [acquired from the U.S.] that . . . Piamingo has stored." Three hundred Creeks assembled a war party and prepared to kill "the Tombigbee Residents."[30]

In response to these threats, the Chickasaws attacked a party of four Creeks near the Cumberland River in January 1793. These Creeks hailed from the Upper Creek town of Woccoccoie ("Wackakay"). Two Woccoccoies perished in the attack, and the Chickasaws took the other two prisoner. When Upper Creek hunting parties caught word

[29] For the Creek horse raid, see Thomas (?) Forbes to Carondelet, 11/1/1792, Mobile, ETHS 28 (1956), 131-132.

[30] Gayoso to Carondelet, 1/8/1793, Natchez, ETHS 29 (1957), 141. For Piomingo's American name, see ETHS 27 (1955), 87n36. For Piomingo's securing corn from the Americans, see Lieutenant Colonel Juan de la Villebeuvre to Carondelet, 1/16/1793, Boukfouka (a Choctaw town), ETHS 29 (1957), 146, 146n33.

of the attack, they swore vengeance.[31] On February 8, Upper Creeks killed the "first warrior of Piomingo" (also known as the "Warrior of Piomingo").[32] Angered, Piomingo issued a stern message to Governor Carondelet, telling him that "we are going to take revenge" on the Upper Creeks who "receive ammunition from you and kill all the white traders in the [Chickasaw] nation and pillage anything they can lay their hands on."[33] By late February, a Chickasaw war party had killed "three or four" Creeks in a Spanish trader's house in Chickasaw country.[34] The slain Creeks included a brother and a nephew of Mad Dog, who was the war leader and headman of the Upper Creek town of Tuckabatchee.[35] After the attack, additional Chickasaws went out "against" the Upper Creeks.[36]

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[31] Villebeuvre to Carondelet, 2/4/1793, Boukfouka, ETHS 29 (1957), 148. For corroboration of Creek deaths, see postscript in Villebeuvre to Carondelet, 2/9/1793, Boukfouka, ETHS 29 (1957), 154. For "Wackakay," see William Panton to Carondelet, 1/2/1793, Pensacola, PLC, reel 8, frame355.

[32] For date and "Warrior," see Cherokee headman Bloody Fellow to Carondelet, 2/11/1793, Choukafala (Piomingo's town), ETHS 29 (1957), 155. For "first warrior," see Gayoso to Carondelet, 6/8/1793, Natchez, PLC, reel 8, frame1179. The Chickasaw victim may have been Piomingo's "Nephew"; see Thomas (?) Forbes to Carondelet, 11/1/1792, Mobile, ETHS 28 (1956), 132. Three war parties "found" the warrior "in his cabin and killed him"; see Villebeuvre to Carondelet, 2/28(?)/1793, Boukfouka (?), ETHS 29 (1957), 158.

[33] "Payemingo" and other Chickasaw headmen to Carondelet, 2/11/1793, "In the Chickasaws," ETHS 29 (1957), 154-155.

[34] Villebeuvre to Carondelet, 2/28(?)/1793, Boukfouka (?), ETHS 29 (1957), 158-159. The Creeks were killed at the "home" of trader Hardy Perry, who lived among the Chickasaws (158).

[35] For "brother" and "nephew," see Mad Dog to Panton, 4/20/1793, Tuckabatchee, PLC, reel 8, frame930; and for corroboration, see Upper Creek talk, 4/8/1793, Tuckabatchee, ASPIA, 1:384. For "Chief Fahakio," see Villebeuvre to Carondelet, 2/28(?)/1793, Boukfouka (?), ETHS 29 (1957), 159, 159n80.

[36] Villebeuvre to Carondelet, 2/28(?)/1793, Boukfouka (?), ETHS 29 (1957), 159.

By the spring of 1793, the Creek-Chickasaw War was in full swing.[37] Attempting to recruit indigenous allies, Upper Creek leaders asked the Shawnees to fight ("Cut of[f]") the Chickasaws. Acknowledging their role as intermediaries among the Southern Indians, such as during the Creek-Choctaw War, Shawnee leaders ignored the Upper Creeks' war talk and, instead, "Brought a friendly talk" to the Chickasaw "King," Taskihatoka, in early April.[38] More than likely, the Upper Creek message issued from Mad Dog, possibly an Eagle clansman, who vowed to avenge his late brother and nephew.[39] Mad Dog and his clan relations may have fulfilled their duties by early April, when a Spanish official learned that a Chickasaw war captive was ritually tortured and burned to death in an unidentified Upper Creek town. The luckless fellow was the nephew of Wolf's Friend (Ogoulayacabe), a Chickasaw headman who had previously favored peace with the Upper Creeks. Upon learning the news, Wolf's Friend told a Spanish official that he wished "to take complete revenge" on the Upper Creeks.[40]

The eighteenth-century Southern Indians commonly tortured male captives of war by burning or flaying them alive. Fundamentally, torture was a community tradition.

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[37] For the Chickasaws' experiences during the war, see Atkinson, *Splendid Land*, 139-179.

[38] Taskihatoka to Villebeuvre, 4/8/1793, "Chekesaws," ETHS 31 (1959), 78-79.

[39] The Tuckabatchee conference ended on April 7; see Louis le Clerc de Milfort to Carondelet, 4/9/1793, Tuckabatchee, ETHS 31 (1959), 79-80. For the American-oriented details of the conference, see Upper Creek talk, 4/8/1793, Tuckabatchee, ASPIA, 1:384-385. For the possibility that Mad Dog was an Eagle, see Benjamin Hawkins, "A sketch of the Creek Country in the years 1798 and 1799," in *Letters, Journals and Writings of Benjamin Hawkins*, ed. C. L. Grant (Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, 1980), 1:318. Hereafter cited as LBH, volume number, page number.

[40] Villebeuvre to Carondelet, 4/18/1793, Boukfouka, ETHS 32 (1960), 75. Wolf's Friend vied with Piomingo for influence among the Chickasaws; see, for example, Villebeuvre to Carondelet, 1/16/1793, Boukfouka, ETHS 29 (1957), 143. According to Villebeuvre, the "King of the Chickasaws," Taskihatoka, was "too weak" to deal with Piomingo (143). For Villebeuvre's credentials, see ETHS 29 (1957), 141n8.

Clanswomen demanded that the male relatives burn or flay a captive to death, usually in the presence of the town. Southern Indian torture resembled the Iroquoian "Requickening" ceremonies whereby a male captive was either adopted into a lineage or burned alive from the feet upward. The Iroquois, like the Creeks, believed that ritual torture allowed a family in mourning to capture the enemy's "spiritual power."[41] During his travels through Creek country in the 1770s, the naturalist William Bartram learned that "some old Trader[s] . . . had been present at burning of captives," although he suggested that the Creeks "do not now" burn their captives "to ashes."[42] In 1793, however, the Creek-Chickasaw War had resurrected this terrifying community tradition.

While the Upper Creeks were locked in a war with the Chickasaws, the Western Indian Confederacy (again) prodded the Lower Creek towns to attack American settlements. In January 1793, William Panton of Panton, Leslie wrote Carondelet that "a deputation from the Northern Indians had arrived at the Coweta Town, with a war Belt, the Signal for a general reunion against the Americans." The Confederacy made "threats of extirpation ... against those Towns" that "decline[d]" to join and bragged that it had beaten the "American Army" led by St. Clair two years earlier.[43] It appears that some

[41] For Requickening rites, see Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 32-33, 35-36, 36 ("spiritual power").

[42] *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians*, ed. Gregory A. Waselkov and Kathryn E. Holland Braund (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 155. Captives were usually tortured in the chunky yard near the square ground (114, 131, 154-155).

[43] William Panton to Baron de Carondelet, 1/27/1793, Pensacola, in D. C. Corbitt, "Papers Relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1784-1800, XII," GHQ, 23:3 (September 1939): 300-303, here 301.

Lower Creek warriors received "talks" from nine Shawnee delegates, who may have persuaded their would-be allies to raid Muscle Shoals and the Cumberland Settlements.[44]

In other cases, evidence confirms that Creeks assaulted the Americans in early 1793. Around March, warriors from the Lower Creek town of Chehaw robbed U.S. Agent Seagrove's trading "Stores" on the St. Marys River, "set fire to the buildings," and killed his brother, Robert, as well as five others there. Panton explained that the Chehaws struck the Americans "in retaliation for an Indian killed last Summer" by American settlers.[45] Perhaps emboldened by the Chehaws, Tame King of Tallassee led a war party against Georgian settlements along the Oconee River sometime in the spring.[46] By attacking the Oconee settlements, Tame King defended the international boundary that he agreed to in the New York treaty. His raid on the Oconee frightened Creek headmen, who may have feared a subsequent U.S. invasion of Creek country. As Tuckabatchee headman and interpreter Alexander Cornells later put it, Tame King and his men "are like mad people, running crazy."[47]

To reduce tensions with the U.S., numerous town headmen pursued diplomacy with American officials. To that end, the Creeks assembled in Cussita, one of several

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[44] James Carey, a U.S. interpreter for the Cherokees, interviewed by William Blount, 3/20/1793, Knoxville, ASPIA, 1:437-439. Carey likely obtained his information from "The head-man of Hiwasee," a Cherokee town (see p. 438).

[45] Panton to Carondelet, 4/10/1793, Pensacola, ETHS 31 (1959), 80, 80n60.

[46] Seagrove to Knox, 4/30/1793, St. Marys, ASPIA, 1:384; Alexander Cornells and the "Upper Creeks" to Seagrove, 4/15/1793, Cussita, ASPIA, 1:384. According to a Cussita message, dated April 13, Major Henry Gaither reported that "the Half Way king [Tame King] and his warriors are actually out" near the Oconee, hence my assumption of late March or early April (Gaither to Knox, 4/19/1793, Fort Fidius, ASPIA, 1:419). In the early 1790s, most of Tallassee's 200 townspeople relocated twenty-five miles up Upahee Creek; Tallassee had been located at the confluence of the Tallapoosa and Upahee Creek (Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 70-71, 169).

[47] Cornells to Seagrove, 4/15/1793, Cussita, ASPIA, 1:384.

"peace" towns in Creek society, on March 22. This meeting boasted several Lower Creek towns, including Hitchiti, Coweta, Cussita, Broken Arrow, Ouseechee, and Sauwoogelo, and influential Upper Creek leaders, such as White Lieutenant of Okfuskee, Cornells, and another Tuckabatchee leader, Mad Dog. U.S. deputy Agent Timothy Barnard served in the capacity of translator and scribe.[48] Appinted speaker (*yatika*), Mad Dog addressed a message to Agent Seagrove via Barnard, inviting the Agent to Creek country to discuss the animosity between his people and the U.S.[49] Although the Chehaws did not attend the March assembly, Chehaw headman Malitea dispatched his own peace talk to Seagrove. In the talk, Malitea blamed the Shawnees for the Chehaws' "mischief" on the St. Marys. Malitea nonetheless apologized for the Chehaws' actions and, like Mad Dog, he expressed his wish to cultivate ties with Seagrove and by extension the United States.[50]

Creek headmen advanced U.S.-Creek relations throughout April. On April 8, Mad Dog addressed a second talk to Seagrove on behalf of thirteen Upper Creek (probably Tallapoosa and Abeika) towns, including his own (Tuckabatchee). Mad Dog told "Mr. Seagrove" that "My name is the Mad Dog that is going to send these talks to you, and when you see my talk, it is all the same as if you seen me. . . ." The headman forwarded Seagrove two beaded belts. As part of Indian diplomacy, headmen solidified

[48] "At a talk held in the Cussetahs," 3/22/1793, ASPIA, 1:383.

[49] Mad Dog to Seagrove, 3/22/1793, Cussita, ASPIA, 1:383. Seagrove was invited to come in "thirty-two days" (late April) (383).

[50] "Malitea, Stinnpee, Slofia Chopeo, Chehaw Tustanocca, Tustanochogn, [and] Cochoxona Tustanocca, Chiefs of Chehaws and Tellihuana Towns" to Seagrove, 3/29/1793, Kinnard's Cowpen, ASPIA, 1:383. These headmen may have been pressured by the Upper Creeks to apologize to Seagrove. See Barnard to Seagrove, 3/26/1793, "Flint River," ASPIA, 1:382. Barnard wrote, "I got" the Upper Creek headmen "to give them [the Lower Creeks] a very severe talk" (382).

kinship bonds with Euro-Americans and other Indians by presenting a presumptive ally with such a belt. The first of Mad Dog's belts contained three "stripes" emblematic of President (and "General") Washington, Agent Seagrove, and the "brothers" of the U.S. The second belt was crafted for Seagrove "and his lady." In this way, the Upper Creeks transformed American authorities into fictive kin and established the kinship groundwork necessary for diplomacy.[51] Consequently on April 13, just five days after Mad Dog authored his second talk, Bird Tail King of Cussita and Cussita Mico informed a U.S. official that "The three rivers have talked, and wished for peace" (Figure 13).[52]

Those words signaled the birth of the Three Rivers Resolution peace initiative. The Resolution emerged between the March 22 assembly and Mad Dog's second talk of April 8 and encapsulated the coalition of Creek towns inhabiting the bends and valleys of the Chattahoochee, Tallapoosa, and Coosa Rivers—the "three rivers."[53] The Americans acknowledged the existence of the Resolution, such as when deputy Agent Barnard wrote to Major Henry Gaither that "This [was a] resolution that the Upper Creeks and

[51] "Mad Dog, the White Lieutenant, David Cornell, Alexander Cornell, Mr. Weatherford, and thirteen other head-men of the Upper Creeks," 4/8/1793, Tuckabatchee, ASPIA, 1:384-385. For reference to "Thirteen Towns," see Barnard to Gaither, 4/20/1793 (?), ASPIA, 1:421. "Mr. Weatherford" refers to Charles Weatherford, British loyalist and former trader to the Creeks. In 1779 or early 1780, Weatherford fled to the Upper Creeks, likely Coosada. He married Sehoy III, and in 1780 or early 1781, they bore a son, William. For the Weatherford family, see Gregory A. Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit: Fort Mims and the Redstick War of 1813-1814* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2006), 42. For the role of women in indigenous and indigenous-European diplomacy, see Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

[52] Bird Tail King and Cussita Mico to Gaither, 4/13/1793, Cussita, ASPIA, 1:420, enclosed in Gaither to Knox, 4/19/1793, Fort Fidius, ASPIA, 1:419.

[53] Bird Tail King and Cussita Mico to Gaither, 4/13/1793, Cussita, ASPIA, 1:420, enclosed in Gaither to Knox, 4/19/1793, Fort Fidius, ASPIA, 1:419.

Cussetahs have fell into."[54] Creek headmen improved relations with the Americans immediately after the Resolution's passage. Around April 19, Barnard dispatched a runner to Upatoi, the sole village of Cussita, to persuade the headmen there that a war party led by Tame King must be stopped from raiding the "upper parts" of Georgia. In turn, Tussekiah Mico and a head warrior of Upatoi sent off runners to turn back Tame King. By May 12, Cussita Mico confirmed to Barnard that the "Tallassee King's people" have been "stopped."[55] By marshaling the peaceful tenets of the Resolution, Cussita and Upatoi managed to prevent another violent episode on the Southern frontier. But for the Resolution to have teeth, Creek headmen understood that both Lower *and* Upper Creeks towns needed to work together to maintain frontier stability.

To that end, Cussita and Tuckabatchee headmen leveraged their towns' political strengths to persuade Lower and Upper Creeks to implement the Resolution. In 1793, 15,160 people lived in Creek society, where Cussita was the largest town, boasting 900 people. Tuckabatchee was the third most populous town, at 780.[56] Aside from numerical influence, each town possessed unique features that nourished peace. Tuckabatchee Mico belonged to "the Eagle family [clan] and claims relationship with the Eagle of the

[54] Barnard to Gaither, 6/21/1793, Flint River, ASPIA 1:422.

[55] Barnard to Seagrove, 4/19/1793, Flint River, ASPIA, 1:386; Barnard to Seagrove, 5/12/1793, "Kinnard's Cow-pen," ASPIA, 1:391.

[56] Spanish commissary to the Creeks, Pedro Olivier, and James Durouzeaux took a census of the Nation in late 1793. Their report is enclosed in Olivier to Carondelet, 12/1/1793, "Old Town of Wetonka," in *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794, Part III: Problems of Frontier Defense, 1792-1794*, ed. Lawrence Kinnaird (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1946), 4:229-233 (hereafter cited as SMV, volume, page number).

United States."[57] Thus, the mico's high-status clan affiliation overlapped with U.S. political symbolism, serving to encourage peace among Tuckabathcee, the Creeks, and American officials. This probably explains why Mad Dog, speaking for Tuckabatchee Mico, had adopted Seagrove and George Washington, as well as their wives, into Creek kinship structures.

Cussita served the Creeks as a prominent white or "peace" town. Since the early colonial period, Cussita was known as a peace town, a sacrosanct polity that granted asylum to criminals and that ideally promoted peace in diplomatic meetings.[58] Cussita maintained its reputation into the late eighteenth century, when Seagrove wrote that Cussita was "the great mother town" of the Creeks.[59] In fact, Cussita headmen enhanced the Creeks' commitment to the Three Rivers Resolution by trading on their town's unique status as a peaceful polity. For instance, on April 15, just two days after the announcement of the Resolution, Bird Tail King and Cussita Mico sent Seagrove a "beloved wing" to give to "our great father, General Washington."[60] In Muskogean

[57] Creek National Council to U.S. Agent Benjamin Hawkins, 4/2/1802, Tuckabatchee, in *Letters, Journals, and Writings of Benjamin Hawkins*, ed. C. L. Grant (Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, 1980), 2:419 (hereafter cited as LBH).

[58] Steven C. Hahn, "The Cussita Migration Legend: History, Ideology, and the Politics of Mythmaking," in *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians*, ed. Thomas J. Pluckhahn and Robbie Ethridge (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2006), 57-93, here 88.

[59] Seagrove to Cussita "[a]nd all others, of the Lower towns of the Creek Nation," 5/13/1793, St. Marys, ASPIA, 1:397.

[60] Cussita headmen ("Cussetah king, and Bird-tail king") to Seagrove, 4/15/1793, Cussita, ASPIA, 1:384. Bird Tail King is also referred to as "Tuskatchee Mico" (ASPIA, 1:473).

diplomacy, a beloved wing was also called a "*white wing*," which symbolized peace and alliance.[61]

That Cussita sent a white wing to Washington demonstrates that Cussita fictively adopted American authorities, just as Mad Dog had done one week earlier on April 8. As well, the timing of Cussita's gift suggests that Tuckabatchee and Cussita coordinated their diplomacy and appealed to the cultural strengths of each town to highlight the Creeks' commitment to U.S.-Creek diplomacy via the Resolution. Likewise, on April 15 Alexander Cornells of Tuckabatchee addressed a talk to Seagrove. Speaking in Cussita, Cornells said that the towns of Tallassee and Cooloome ("Colemmys") "are turned out for war," and apprised Seagrove that Cooloome and Tallassee supported the militant "Northern Indians coming among us [from the Western Confederacy]." Reiterating his point from Cussita, Cornells spoke on behalf of several Upper Creek headmen by telling the U.S. Agent that "All the Upper towns are strong for peace," and that Seagrove should not interpret the actions of the part for the whole.[62] By messaging Seagrove from Cussita, Cornells underlined the way in which the Resolution inspired the Creeks to pursue amicable relations with the U.S. Moreover, Cornells addressed his talk the same day that Cussita sent that white wing to George Washington and Seagrove, further indicating that Tuckabatchee and Cussita collaborated diplomatically.

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[61] For "*white wing*," see Seagrove to Knox, 4/30/1793, St. Marys, ASPIA, 1:384. Italics in original.

[62] Cornells and the "Upper Creeks" to Seagrove, 4/15/1793, Cussita, ASPIA, 1:384. In the postscript, Cornells told Seagrove that "We have agreed to give up two red men from the Chehaws, two from Burges' town, and one from the point," probably in reference to the "mischief . . . done at St. Marys" (384). Five days later, a U.S. official learned, probably from the Cussitas, that "White King of the Ufalees, is to take satisfaction for the murder from Burges town" (see James M. Holmes to Seagrove, 4/20/1793, Flint River, ASPIA, 1:386).

Figure 13. Bird Tail King (Fusihatchee Mico) of Cussita, 1790. A signer of the Treaty of New York, he framed the Three Rivers Resolution with Cussita Mico and Mad Dog of Tuckabatchee. In partnership with Mad Dog, the Cussita headman worked tirelessly to advance U.S.-Creek relations in the mid-1790s. *Source*: The National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C. (Photographed by author.)

To fortify U.S.-Creek ties, Cussita and Tuckabatchee partnered with other Creek towns. The opportunity to do so came when Agent Seagrove demanded that the Creeks punish those responsible for the murder of several Americans, including his own brother, on the St. Marys River earlier in the spring. So, on May 16, Cussita Mico and Mad Dog joined forces with White Lieutenant, a headman of the Abeika town of Okfuskee, and *métis* headman Jack Kinnard of Hitchiti Town. The four headmen met in Hitchiti Town. Although Chehaw had been a primary culprit in the St. Marys raid, the four headmen concluded that warriors from five towns—Coweta, Broken Arrow, Ouseechee, Yuchi Town, and Halfway House—were to blame. Accordingly, in a "talk" to Seagrove, Kinnard invited U.S. military forces to give "one drubbing" to these "five towns [since these towns are] all that are against you." Speaking with the rhetoric of the Resolution, Kinnard told the Agent that "the Tallapoosa river and the Coosa river are all our friends," as were, of course, the Hitchiti towns politically affiliated with Kinnard.[63]

Kinnard's invitation to the U.S. to invade Creek country was largely rhetorical; Creeks themselves handled the punishments. On June 8, twenty-four Upper Creek headmen and eight Lower Creek headmen attended a meeting in Tuckabatchee, where they agreed to punish "six of the ringleaders," whose names are unknown but who, apparently, were principally responsible for the American deaths on the St Marys. After reaching this decision, David Cornells, "a head warrior" of Tuckabatchee, traveled to Cussita "by order of the whole Upper Creeks." Cornells announced the verdict to the

[63] "Talk from Kinnard and other Chiefs," 5/16/1793, Hitchiti town, ASPIA, 1:388-389. For Kinnard's having a "house" in Hitchiti, see George Galphin's deposition to Seagrove, 5/24/1793, Camden County, GA, ASPIA, 1:389. Kinnard also owned a ranch on the lower Flint River (Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 66).

Cowetas, who were ordered to assist Cussita with the executions. Later, Lower Creek men were "appointed, and sent off, by the Cussetahs" to execute the ringleaders.[64] Ultimately, the Cussita-led executioners failed to carry out their task, leading Agent Seagrove, for whatever reason, to put the issue on the backburner. What is important about this scenario is that not only did Creeks dodge Seagrove's request but they also maintained stability with the U.S. The Resolution therefore helped achieve cross-cultural peace. Deputy Agent Barnard later reported to an American officer that "This resolution that the Upper Creeks and Cussetahs have fell into, seems to have put a stop to hostilities for a while."[65]

Meanwhile, the Resolution spurred the Upper Creeks to open a dialogue with the Chickasaws. Spanish official Benjamin Fooy reported that "two [Upper] Creek" envoys traveled to the Chickasaws a month after the announcement of the Resolution to "propose peace" on behalf of "the chiefs of a party of 800 men [probably Upper Creeks]." Fooy observed most of the negotiations that unfolded between the Upper Creek delegates and Chickasaw headmen, including Wolf's Friend, whose nephew had been burned to death by the Upper Creeks in the previous month. Wolf's Friend "accepted the talks" carried by the Creek envoys, and in exchange, he presented them with "some beads to assure the Creeks" that the Chickasaws wanted nothing more "than to live at peace with them." The

[64] For the meeting, see Mad Dog, White Lieutenant, Alexander Cornells, and Charles Weatherford to Seagrove, 6/14/1793, Tuckabatchee, ASPIA, 1:396; Pedro Olivier to Baron de Carondelet, 6/11/1793, "Town of Mongulacha," SMV, 4:167. For Cornells, see Barnard to Seagrove, 6/20/1793, Flint River, ASPIA, 1:395). I believe the St. Marys killings were under discussion by content from a different document (Barnard to Henry Gaither, 6/21/1793, Flint River, ASPIA, 1:422, which says that at the Tuckabatchee meeting, the Creeks "fixed on the men that were to die for satisfaction for the murders done on the frontiers of Georgia," hence the St. Marys).

[65] Barnard to Gaither, 6/21/1793, Flint River, ASPIA 1:422.

envoys promised to give the beads to the appropriate Upper Creek headmen and to return "with the reply of the Chiefs."[66]

Since Southern Indian diplomats enlisted neutral third-parties to mediate between two warring peoples, the Upper Creeks turned to the Choctaws for arbitration.[67] In early May, around the time that Upper Creek envoys arrived in Chickasaw country where Fooy was located, Mad Dog dispatched a message to Franchimastabé, a Choctaw headman of West Yazoo. In it, Mad Dog asked Franchimastabé to "convoke an assembly" of Choctaw leaders so that they might consider the possibility of arbitrating between the Upper Creeks and Chickasaws. Franchimastabé accepted Mad Dog's request by hosting a Choctaw "assembly" on May 22 in West Yazoo. Perhaps fearing that the Creek-Chickasaw War would engulf their towns in violence, "all the [Choctaw] chiefs" agreed to "propose peace" to the Chickasaws on the Upper Creeks' behalf.[68] Possibly, too, Choctaw headmen wanted to protect those Choctaws who lived in Chickasaw country.[69] The Choctaws appointed an influential headman named Red Shoes to "take charge of

[66] The Upper Creek delegation arrived in Chickasaw country sometime before May 20. Fooy's report is summarized in Villebeuvre to Gayoso, 5/25/1793, Boukfouka, ETHS 32 (1960), 89-90. Villebeuvre suggests that the envoys visited Wolf's Friend's town, writing that "Ogoulayacabe [Wolf's Friend] and the other chiefs have accepted" the peace talk (90).

[67] For Native arbitration practices, see James Adair, *The History of the American Indians*, ed. Kathryn E. Holland Braund (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 290-291, 376.

[68] Villebeuvre to Gayoso, 5/25/1793, Boukfouka, ETHS 32 (1960), 90-91. Villebeuvre wrote, "A letter has just arrived from Panton to Ben James asking him to convoke an assembly in the village of Franchimastabe and talk to the Choctaws in the name of Mad Dog, principal Chief of the Creeks. . . ." (90-91). For Franchimastabé's town, see O'Brien, *Choctaws*, 12. Like other Choctaw polities, West Yazoo was a "village cluster," whereby a major town was surrounded by a cluster of smaller ones (12).

[69] Villebeuvre to Carondelet, 2/4/1793, Boukfouka, ETHS 29 (1957), 147.

making peace" between Chickasaws and Upper Creeks.[70] Other Choctaws became intermediaries for the warring parties. On June 1, for instance, Choctaw and Chickasaw leaders conferred at the home of Piomingo, the Chickasaw head warrior and inveterate enemy of the Upper Creeks. During the meeting, a Choctaw leader presented a "belt of Wampum" to the Chickasaws on behalf of Mad Dog ("Offey Hago"), who originally sent it to the Choctaws for such purpose.[71] The peace efforts spearheaded by Mad Dog and the Upper Creeks in May and June bore fruit, and by late July, a Spanish official wrote that the Choctaws had brokered a "Peace" between the Upper Creeks and Chickasaws.[72]

If the Resolution compelled the Creeks to pursue peace with their Native and non-Native neighbors, nothing about it required the Americans to do so. On September 21, 1793, for example, Georgia militiamen "plundered and burnt" an Okfuskee talofa named Little Okfuskee/Hoethletiaga, which lay on the northern Chattahoochee River. Believing that members of this village had stolen their horses, the frontiersmen torched ten houses, killed six men, and captured eight persons (three women and five girls). White Lieutenant's "people [were] killed" in the attack, and one of the captive women was the Okfuskee headman's "own relation" as well as "wife to a head-man of the town." As it turned out, Burnt Village (or Okfuskenena), as it became known, was blameless. As Barnard reported to Seagrove, Burnt Village was "among the most friendly of the Creeks,

[70] Gayoso to Carondelet, 6/8/1793, Natchez, ETHS 33 (1961), 68. A Choctaw headman, "Itelaghana," invited Gayoso to arbitrate in the Creek-Chickasaw War (69-70).

[71] Benjamin James, "Indian Speeches Made at Long Town," 6/1/1793, SMV 4:164-165, 167.

[72] Gayoso to Carondelet, 7/25/1793, Walnut Hills [Fort Nogales], ETHS 34 (1962), 95.

and no way concerned in stealing horses." Rather, the Cowetas likely bore responsibility for the horse theft.[73]

The threat of retributive justice ignited a flurry of political discussion among town headmen, who labored to preserve peace on the U.S.-Creek frontier. In the vanguard were Cussita and its talofa, Upatoi. By October 1, Tussekiah Mico of Upatoi ("Warrior King, of the Cussetahs") had left for the Upper towns to apprise White Lieutenant and other "heads of the Upper Creeks" of the news. The Upatoi headman may have held a second meeting with the Upper Creeks in Tuckabatchee.[74] On October 15, the Creeks probably held a meeting in Cussita with Tussekiah Mico. The *métis* John Galphin, son of George Galphin and a Coweta woman, participated in that meeting and addressed a message to Seagrove. In it, he scolded the U.S. for its deception and violence: "We view with astonishment the steps taken by your people when sending Peace Talks in our Nation continually: We were at a Meeting in the Ocfusqui [Okfuskee] to [hear] a Talk that you sent up" when the Georgia militiamen came "into one of our out-towns and carried off eight women and children, besides killing the old men in the Town, burnt our provision & houses, took off all the property you could find." Perhaps, they suggested, the U.S. had sent that peace talk intentionally "to deceive us." Above all, however, the Creeks wished to have their women and children ransomed and to "live in peace and

[73] For the attack, see Seagrove to Knox, 10/9/1793, Fort Fidius, ASPIA, 1:411. For Coweta, see Barnard to Seagrove, 10/1/1793, "Oakmulgee," in *APSIA*, 1:413; Barnard hoped "the Oakfuskees" would take "revenge" on Coweta. For Hoethletiaga, see Enrique White to Carondelet, 10/10/1793, Pensacola, SMV, 4:216. For Okfuskenena, see Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 97. For the possibility that ten women and children were "lost," not eight, and White Lieutenant's slain kin, see Barnard to Seagrove, 10/17/1793, Flint River, ASPIA, 1:416.

[74] Barnard to Seagrove, 10/1/1793, Okmulgee, ASPIA, 1:413; Barnard to Seagrove, 10/17/1793, Flint River, ASPIA, 1:415-416. Tussekiah Mico returned to Cussita from Tuckabatchee by the 17th; see Barnard to Seagrove, 10/18/1793, Flint River, ASPIA, 1:416.

friendship *with all people*" (my emphasis), an indirect invocation of the Three Rivers Resolution. The Creeks closed by reminding Georgia that that state was the true aggressor since it grasped after Creek lands. Georgia had been encroaching on the "limits and border of our Country. We actually see our hunting Grounds laid out into districts, without considering us to have any claim or right to which Nature has bestowed upon us, and of which oppression or prejudice alone can attempt to rob us."[75]

Creek headmen dissuaded the aggrieved relatives from exacting retribution, doing so by careful persuasion. Galphin, who sent a copy of the talk to Panton, explained that he "advised" the Creeks "to wait twenty days to see whether we would get our Women & Children back, and then it was time enough." In the meantime, the Creeks planned to "defend our Country. We have fixed out strong guards in all the roads that we are not afraid of a surprize." Obviously, "we cannot sit still and see our Women and Children carried off and our Towns and Provisions laid in flames."[76] Galphin indicated that the most pressing concern was clan retaliation. Those in mourning itched for vengeance, as "the young people Regraetts mutch the Loss of thaer Relations Kild by the Georgians."[77] As it turned out, however, the Creeks were "under an Nessessitey of Macking a peace Mutch against thaer Wills." White Lieutenant and Mad Dog were "Very Decieroes of a peace" and convinced the relatives that it was in their best interest to back down.[78] By October 21, the Creeks had informed deputy agent Barnard that the Cowetas replaced

[75] John Galphin to Panton, 10/16/1793, Broken Arrow, SMV, 4:218-219. Galphin does not specify where the meeting was held, but it may have been in Cussita; see Barnard to Seagrove, 10/17/1793, Flint River, ASPIA, 1:415.

[76] John Galphin to Panton, 10/16/1793, Broken Arrow, SMV, 4:219.

[77] Durouzeaux to White, 10/18/1793, SMV, 4:220.

[78] Durouzeaux to White, 10/18/1793, SMV, 4:220.

Georgia as the target for vengeance.[79] By manipulating cross-town connections to reach a consensus with the aggrieved kinspeople, Creek leaders deterred the clan from getting revenge on the U.S.

Conversely, the clans among the Upper Creek towns did not miss an opportunity to retaliate against the Chickasaws during the Creek-Chickasaw War. Within the bounds of intertribal warfare, Indians pursued retaliation with consistency and brutality. While initially encouraging Upper Creek leaders to open a dialogue with Wolf's Friend, the Three Rivers Resolution did not suppress intertribal clan retaliation. To a degree, headmen applied the Resolution more consistently to the Americans, who were more numerous and threatening than the Chickasaws. After a brief hiatus during the summer of 1793, the Creek-Chickasaw War resumed sometime between August and early September 1793.[80] Perhaps Piomingo was to blame, for Piomingo's rival, Wolf's Friend, "doubt[ed]" that the war leader would ever "consent to [a] peace because he is urged on by the Americans" to attack the Upper Creeks.[81] On the other hand, the Upper Creeks may have reignited the war after raiding a Chickasaw town, but we cannot know for certain.

Before long, the Creeks sued for peace. In January 1794, Lower and Upper Creek leaders "empowred" Mad Dog and White Lieutenant to recruit the Choctaws as

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[79] No evidence indicates, however, that the Okfuskees killed the Cowetas in place of Georgia. See Barnard to Seagrove, 10/17/1793, Flint River, ASPIA, 1:415-416; Seagrove to Edward Telfair, 10/21/1793, Fort Fidius, ASPIA, 1:417.

[80] Piomingo to James Seagrove, 9/1/1793, Longtown, ETHS 35 (1963), 90-91. Piomingo asked Seagrove to forward the talk to Mad Dog and the "Rest" of the Upper Creeks to whom the talk was actually addressed (91).

[81] Villebeuvre to Gayoso, 5/25/1793, Boukfouka, ETHS 32 (1960), 89-90.

emissaries for a second time. Capable diplomats and key framers of the Three Rivers Resolution, White Lieutenant and Mad Dog sent a talk to the Choctaws on January 19. They addressed it to a Choctaw headman named "Tuscabulapo Mingo" of Macaw, explaining that "our Land hath been in much confusion and trouble for some years past." Tapping into the rhetoric of the Resolution, the headmen said that "The Eyes of our whole nation we think is now open and it is detirmined by the Chiefs of our Land that we Establish afirm [*sic*] and lasting Peace with all Nations and people." In order to forge such a peace, Mad Dog and White Lieutenant asked Tuscabulapo Mingo to forward an invitation to the Chickasaws to attend a peace conference scheduled to meet in Tuckabatchee later that spring.[82] Evidence confirms that the Choctaws relayed that invitation to Wolf's Friend. On February 22, he informed a Spanish official that he "Expect[ed]" to travel to Tuckabatchee to meet with the Upper Creeks.[83] Yet Wolf's Friend changed his mind when he learned in early March that the "Creeks are on a Good understanding with the Virginuns [Americans]," prompting Wolf's Friend to believe that the Americans had persuaded the Creeks to assassinate him.[84]

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[82] White Lieutenant and Mad Dog to "Tuscabulapo Mingo of the Macaw Town," 1/19/1794, Tuckabatchee, SMV, 4:248-249.

[83] Wolf's Friend to "Chactamathaha" (Gayoso), 2/22/1794, ETHS 38 (1966), 72. Although Wolf's Friend asked Benjamin Fooy, a trader to the Chickasaws, not to send this particular talk to Gayoso, Fooy did so anyway (71n11).

[84] He told Natchez's commandant Manuel Gayoso that a "Cloud" still hung over the Upper Creeks and Chickasaws; see Wolf's Friend to Gayoso, 3/15/1794, "Thisatera" (Wolf's Friend's town), ETHS 38 (1966), 78. He also "Wrote a letter to the Creeks" expressing his "love" for "all Nations of White people," including the Spanish, French, British, and "Verginnians." He had "never Spoilt or Stole Anny thing for them, for [fear] of bringing trouble in his land. This "letter" is mentioned in Fooy to Gayoso, 3/16/1794, "Holkey," ETHS 38 (1966), 80.

No extant records prove that the Creeks planned to eliminate Wolf's Friend, but the Chickasaw headman's fears were justified nonetheless. Even if Wolf's Friend trusted Mad Dog and White Lieutenant, these and other Upper Creek headmen could not guarantee him safe passage through Upper Creek country since Upper Creek warriors, like other Southern Indian warriors, waged intertribal war at their own leisure and for their own reasons.[85] There was a strong possibility that had Wolf's Friend traveled to Tuckabatchee in the spring of 1794, an Upper Creek war party would have killed him.[86] Intertribal relations in the late-eighteenth-century South crumbled at a moment's notice. Although, for example, the Upper Creeks and Chickasaws ceased hostilities in May, June, and July of 1793, the Creek-Chickasaw War resumed by September and continued into the winter of 1793-1794.

Although in 1794 Mad Dog and White Lieutenant had promoted peace with the Chickasaws, doing so with the tenets of the Resolution, Creek clans launched retaliatory raids on the Chickasaws.[87] Local traditions therefore clashed with national policy; it was not that young commoners clashed with elder leaders. While scholars of the generational school believe that ordinary warriors defied the elites by launching a raid against an enemy and therefore undermining international peace, they have missed the point that during intertribal war, retributive justice generated, escalated, and prolonged regional

[85] Southern Indian men waged war to secure revenge but also to enhance social status and capture war booty; see Adair, *History*, ed. Braund, 375-392.

[86] Adair, *History*, ed. Braund, 291. British trade James Adair wrote that "the Indians have no public faith to secure the lives of friendly messengers in war-time" (291).

[87] Adair, *History*, ed. Braund, 184-189, 291. Adair recognized the endlessness of intertribal war when he wrote that Indian wars "are perpetuated from one generation to another" (291).

violence. Unlike U.S.-Creek affairs, which required a measure of stability to maintain trade, intertribal warfare had its own indigenous logic that neither indigenous nor Euro-Americans authorities could control. Intertribal wars erupted not because young warriors defied their elders but because warriors dutifully followed the logic of retaliation by meting out punishment on a killer (or his family), which usually ignited a war.[88] The corollary is that retribution obligated the *elites* to assemble war parties and launch raids as frequently as ordinary warriors. Neither common warriors nor headmen therefore could escape their clan duties.

In fact, in some cases, headmen promoted peace and waged war simultaneously. Mad Dog captures the ways in which localism thwarted national policy. As a town leader and international diplomat, he attempted to end the Creek-Chickasaw War in 1793 and 1794, armed with the Three Rivers Resolution.[89] But as a clan affiliate (his clan totem may have been the Eagle), retaliation obligated him to attack the Chickasaws. In June 1794, after learning that a relative had been killed in Chickasaw country, Mad Dog and his "Older brother or Uncle" assembled a war party that planned to raid "Thishatare" and kill Wolf's Friend who lived there.[90] Despite Mad Dog's repeated attempts to cultivate ties with the Chickasaws via Wolf's Friend, retaliation threatened to undermine that enterprise. Unfortunately the records do not confirm whether Mad Dog carried out the

[88] Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 65-83; Calloway, *American Revolution*, 190-196; O'Brien, *Choctaws*, 46-48.

[89] See, for instance, Villebeuvre to Gayoso, 5/25/1793, Boukfouka, ETHS 32 (1960), 90-91; White Lieutenant and Mad Dog to "Tuscabulapo Mingo of the Macaw Town," 1/19/1794, Tuckabatchee, SMV, 4:248-249.

[90] For the war party, see Fooy to Gayoso, 7/3/1794, "Holkey," ETHS 40 (1968), 113. For Wolf's Friend as the target, see Wolf's Friend to Gayoso, 7/2/1794, "Thishatare," ETHS 40 (1968), 110-111. The Chickasaw headman indicated that only "one Town," Tuckabatchee (mainly Mad Dog's clan), wanted him dead (110).

attack in the summer of 1794, but we do know that he led a war party against the Chickasaws one year later and incurred severe losses.[91] By pursuing peace with and waging war on the same society, Mad Dog succumbed to the tension between local tradition and national policy.

Likewise, that tension divided *elites*. As Mad Dog assembled his war party in June 1794, Wolf's Friend received "Express News" from two Creek "chiefs" known only as "Spandahayo & Neuhayo." These headmen informed Wolf's Friend that two war parties, including Mad Dog's, were gunning for the Chickasaws. Spandahayo and Neuhayo advised the Chickasaws "to be on there [*sic*] Gard and to hunt for them and to kill Anny of the Creek they Should Meet With" in Chickasaw country. Possibly, Spandahayo and Neuhayo were Tuckabatchee headmen since they knew that Mad Dog, who assembled his war party within Tuckabatchee, planned to attack the Chickasaws. Mad Dog's preparations against the enemy therefore prompted Spandahayo and Neuhayo to alert the Chickasaws to potential Creek raids and to encourage them "to kill Anny" Creeks they saw.[92] By forming a war party against the Chickasaws in June 1794, then, Mad Dog obeyed his clan, ignored national policy, and came into conflict with other town leaders.

Mad Dog paid greater attention to his town, however, by pursuing diplomacy with the Americans. In coordination with Cussita headmen, co-framers of the Resolution, he

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[91] Cherokee and Creek leaders via "Indian [Cherokee?] Philatuchi" to Governor of Florida (probably Enrique White), 10/21/1795, PLC, reel 10, frame173. He lost thirty-six men.

[92] Fooy to Gayoso, 7/3/1794, "Holkey," ETHS 40 (1968), 113. In Villebeuvre to Gayoso, 7/22/1794, Boukfouka, ETHS 41 (1969), 101, we learn that Mad Dog's party was "at a place Called Oulque."

invited U.S. Agent Seagrove into Creek society to discuss the possibility of ransoming the Burnt Village prisoners. On November 14, 1793 Seagrove arrived in Cussita, having been conducted there from the Okmulgee River by one hundred and thirty "chiefs and warriors." Days later, he traveled to Tuckabatchee, where a meeting of eleven major Creek towns opened on the 23rd. Seagrove rekindled the Burnt Village controversy, informing the assembled headmen that Georgia refused to ransom the captive women and children.[93] Yet the Agent promised to ransom them as long as the Creeks agreed to release an unnamed "White prisoner" in the Nation.[94] As a result of Seagrove's amicable intentions, the Tuckabatchees and no doubt Mad Dog invited the Agent to winter in their town, and he did so.[95]

Seagrove remained among the Upper Creeks until April 14, 1794, when he left with two-hundred Indians for Rock Landing, where he promised to give them "presents."[96] Among the retinue, some forty Creeks continued traveling eastward with Seagrove to Georgia's capital, Augusta.[97] Led by Bird Tail King and "Little Warrior" of Cussita as well as Mad Dog's nephew and the Tuckabatchee "King" (*mico*), the delegation met with Governor George Mathews in late April or early May.[98] There, they

[93] Seagrove to Knox, 11/30/1793, Tuckabatchee, ASPIA, 1:471-472. For eleven towns, see Milford to Carondelet, 12/17/1793, "Cloaly," SMV, 4:235.

[94] Hallowing King of Coweta to Enrique White, 1793, Tuckabatchee (?), SMV, 4:234.

[95] SMV, 4:xxix (editor's note).

[96] Milford to Carondelet, 4/14/1794, Cloaly, SMV, 4:267.

[97] Mad Dog and some "other chiefs" were among those who "abandoned" Seagrove as the forty-person delegation headed east; see Carondelet to Villebeuvre, 6/4/1794, New Orleans, ETHS 39 (1967), 101.

[98] Constant Freeman to Knox, 5/11/1794, Fort Fidius, ASPIA 1:485. Other named headmen included the Tallassee head warrior, "George Tool . . . [and] Big Fear." White Lieutenant's name is not listed, so presumably he did not join the delegates in Augusta. The

probably implored him to release Burnt Village's captive women and children. Although the delegates returned home in late May empty-handed, by June the Lower Creeks notified Tuckabatchee that three "prisoners," perhaps those of Burnt Village, had returned to the Creeks. Unfortunately, the records do not clarify the fate of the remaining hostages (roughly seven).[99]

Peace foundered on the conflict-ridden Oconee lands, however. In early May, Georgia settlers killed three Creeks from the Lower Creek talofa of Broken Arrow who had pilfered horses from the Georgia settlements near the Oconee. No evidence proves whether the aggrieved family took revenge on Georgia, but headmen did resolve the affair diplomatically. Weeks after the killings, leaders from Coweta, Broken Arrow, Cussita, and Ouseechee co-authored a talk to Governor Mathews. Invoking the Three Rivers Resolution from within the Cussita square ground, the headmen said that "The talks we [the Creeks] had in this square we still hold fast," although they admitted that they could not always prevent some "bad people" from stealing property. They hoped that the "beloved man" Seagrove "will remember in the Tuckabatchys as well as in this square all our talks were for peace[.] we are desirous of keeping a peace." They stressed that they would "use our best endeavours to prevent it at all our meetings." As for Mathews, they implored him to "prevent your people from coming over the river a

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Tallassee head warrior, probably George Cornells, also attended. He is identified as "Talesee Haujo" in Mad Dog to Benjamin Hawkins, 6/30/1802, ASPIA, 1:681.

[99] For the delegates' return home by roughly late May, see Bird Tail King to Mathews, undated (but probably late May 1794), Cussita, in Corbitt, "Papers Relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1784-1800, XVI," GHQ, 24:3 (September 1940): 257-271, here 257. For the prisoners, see "A Talk from the Head men of the Cussetas & Cowetas" to "the Mad dog the Head Warrior & Aleck Cornell [i.e., Alexander Cornells] of Tuckabatchies & the Tuckabatchie King," 6/27/1794, in Corbitt, "Papers Relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1784-1800, XV," GHQ, 24:2 (June 1940): 150-157, here 156.

hunting or scouting in our hunting ground," the root cause of Creek hunters' grievances.[100]

Lower Creek headmen believed that making peace with Georgia was a national concern. They hoped to fulfill that goal by restoring stolen property, both horses and African American slaves, to the appropriate owners in Georgia. To that end, in June they notified Tuckabatchee headmen that Cussita, Coweta, and Chehaw had begun collecting the "negroes & horses" that Creek warriors had stolen from Georgia settlements over the years. Cussita Mico understood the stakes: If "we do not exert ourselves it appears our nation is on the brink of ruin." Moreover, the Mico advised the Upper Creeks to stop raiding Chickasaw towns and, apparently, a few American settlements: If "the practice of committing hostilities on the American Frontiers is not stopp'd it will bring war on our nation," "for we well know that it is best for us to set down in our towns in peace & mind our hunting." Cussita Mico blamed the Upper Creek town of Aubecooche "& other towns [among the Upper Creeks] for they are so far off that they think themselves out of danger but that is not the case with us, for they are bringing ruin on us."[101] The Cussita headman feared that the Upper Creeks' war on the Chickasaws and, to some degree, the Americans, would prompt Georgia militiamen to re-invade the Lower Creek towns.

Fortunately, many Upper Creek towns pledged to assist the Lower Creeks, demonstrating that Creeks continued to apply the Three Rivers Resolution towards the

[100] "A Talk from the Kings and Head Warriors of the Cowetas, Broken Arrows, Cussetas and Usachees" to Mathews, 5/24/1794, Cussita, in Corbitt, "Papers ... XV," GHQ, 156-157.

[101] "A Talk from the Head men of the Cussetas & Cowetas" to "the Mad dog the Head Warrior & Aleck Cornell ... & the Tuckabatchie King," 6/27/1794, Cussita, in Corbitt, "Papers ... XV," GHQ, 155-156.

Americans. On October 18, Mad Dog messaged the Lower Creeks on behalf of the "Headmen of the Two Rivers," meaning the Tallapoosa and Abeika provinces. Specifically, he represented at least ten Upper Creek towns, namely Tuckabatchee, Okfuskee, Kialijee, Tallassee, Hoithlewaulee, White Ground, Muccolossus, Tuskegee, Hickory Ground, and Coosada. Mad Dog informed the Lower Creeks that he had prevented some warriors from committing depredations near Spanish settlements in Pensacola, and that White Lieutenant of Okfuskee promised to dissuade any Abeika warriors from raiding either the Americans or Spanish. Moreover, he requested the Yuchis, Ouseechees, and Cowetas to round up any stolen U.S. property and bring it to Cussita, where he arrived by late October. Returning the stolen property became the basis for holding "all white people by the Hand." As Mad Dog said, "I wish both Spaniards & Americans well."[102]

As a result, the Creeks scored a major diplomatic victory. The Creeks' good intentions towards the Americans convinced Governor Mathews to defend the international border. In late October of 1794, the Spanish-employed interpreter James Durouzeaux wrote to his superior that Mathews "has Removed the White people of this Syed the Ococney [Oconee] and Burnt thaer fort & houesess they had built." Remarkably, Mathews authorized a military body to burn a Georgian settlement, including its fort, to the ground. These facts gave the Creeks "Great profe of the White

[102] "A Talk from the Mad Dog and the Headmen of the Two Rivers to the Headmen and Warriors of the Lower Creeks," 10/18/1794, Tuckabatchee, SMV, 4:359-360. In the postscript, Mad Dog informed the Lower Creeks that White Lieutenant "is going to have a Talk with the Abecas, at the Oakfuskees" to ask Abeika headmen to dissuade warriors from attacking either the Spanish or Americans. For Mad Dog's being in Cussita and "Mutch", see Durouzeaux to White, 10/30/1794, Coweta, SMV, 4:371-372.

people Wishing to be at paece With them."[103] The Cussitas were delighted. In a message dated November 20, they informed the Spanish that the Georgians had been "removed" from "this [i.e., west] side of the river oconee," so that "we shall have peace in our land[,] that our young people may hunt in peace and quietness in our land[, and] that we may be able to Cloath our weomen and Children and them likewise to stay at home in peace."[104]

Peace was elusive in Upper Creek country, however, as the Creek-Chickasaw War escalated in the winter of 1794-1795. Throughout January and February of 1795, the Chickasaws and Upper Creeks skirmished on the hunting grounds between the Tennessee and Tombigbee valleys. Before January 22, the Chickasaws vanquished five Creeks near the Tennessee River and took their scalps as war booty.[105] A Creek man who had "lived in the Chickasaws for many years" denounced that skirmish, whereupon the Chickasaws "knocked him on the head [i.e., killed him]." Later, around February, three Chickasaw war parties searched for Creeks in the "Hunting Grounds." One such party killed nine, captured six, and "let one Boy make his Escape to carry [the] News" to the Creeks.[106] According to another report, "four or five" Chickasaw war parties had

[103] Durouzeaux to White, 10/30/1794, Coweta, SMV, 4:371.

[104] "The King & Warior[,] The Big King[,] and The Warrior King" to White and Panton, 11/20/1794, Cussita, SMV, 4:377-378.

[105] Brigadier General of the Mero District James Robertson to Pitchlynn, 1/22/1795, Cumberland settlements, ETHS 42 (1970), 107. Apparently, too, the Cherokees killed and scalped some Creeks to prove "their Fidelity" to the United States (postscript, 107). For location of attack (Tennessee River), see Benjamin James to Villebeuvre, 2/12/1795, Choctaws, ETHS 43 (1971), 103.

[106] Benjamin James to Villebeuvre, 2/12/1795, Choctaws, ETHS 43 (1971), 103. James was a trader in Choctaw country (103n38). The Chickasaws killed the Creek man living among the Chickasaws because he had been "going about with his gun and knife treatening [*sic*] like a Crazy man," perhaps because he shared kinship ties with the five slain warriors; see Fooy to Gayoso, 2/18/1795, "Holkey," ETHS 43 (1971), 107.

been sent out in February "to kill some parties of Creeks."[107] The ferocity of the Chickasaw campaign left the Upper Creeks confused and helpless. One headman notified William Panton of Panton, Leslie that "I don't know what to do now, I am setting inactive & perhaps the ennemy killing up my people in the woods."[108]

During one skirmish that winter, the Chickasaws killed six Coosa men whose next of kin lived in both Coosa, on the Coosa River, and in Aubecooche, which lay just east of Coosa.[109] Some of the slain Coosas had been "nephews" of Mackey's Friend, Aubecooche's *mico*, and Dog Warrior, another Aubecooche headman. Dog Warrior told Panton that the Chickasaws had "killed three of my own relations. . . . [T]his is the way they have used us."[110] Although it is reasonable to assume that Dog Warrior and Mackey's Friend desired retaliation against the Chickasaws, these Aubecooche leaders "stopped" the Coosas from planning "to take satisfaction" in late February. Fearing that retaliation would escalate the war even further and thereby increase the death toll, the headmen counseled patience. The grieving Coosas, however, were more dutiful than their Aubecooche kin. Evidence confirms that the Coosas took revenge by killing "three Chickasaw women" in Coosa town, where the slain women had "had husbands."[111] These intermarried women were innocent, of course, but the law of retaliation required the Coosas to mete out punishment on the first three Chickasaws they could find.

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[107] Fooy to Gayoso, 2/18/1795, "Holkey," ETHS 43 (1971), 107.

[108] Dog Warrior to Panton, 2/25/1795, "Creek Nation," ETHS 43 (1971), 109-110.

[109] Joseph Stiggins to Panton, 2/24/1795, "Creek Nation," ETHS 43 (1971), 109. The town is identified as "Mr. O. Kelleys town" (109). For a "John O'Kelley, halfbreed" of "Coosah," see Benjamin Hawkins, "Mother Towns of the Upper Creeks," in *The Collected Works of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1810*, introduction by Thomas Foster (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 195 (hereafter cited as CWBH).

[110] Dog Warrior to Panton, 2/25/1795, "Creek Nation," ETHS 43 (1971), 109-110.

[111] Joseph Stiggins to Panton, 2/24/1795, "Creek Nation," ETHS 43 (1971), 109.

Meanwhile, the Creek towns along the Tallapoosa River responded to the Chickasaw invasion by reaching out to the Spanish. In February 1795, Mad Dog and White Lieutenant sponsored an Upper Creek visit to Pensacola Commandant Enrique White. Leading that visit was Mad Dog who arrived in Pensacola on February 19 with eighty Tuckabatchees and fifty-seven other Creeks (for unknown reasons, White Lieutenant did not travel with the delegation). Applying the same customs of kinship diplomacy as he had with the U.S. years earlier, Mad Dog opened the conference with Commandant White by giving him "a belt of seven strings of white Wampum with five purple rhumbs." The five "rhumbs" represented five peoples coming together in "perpetual friendship," namely the Spanish Crown, Governor Baron de Carondelet, Enrique White, Tuckabatchee town, and Okfuskee town. White accepted the belt, which transformed him into an adoptive Creek kinsperson. During the Creeks' brief embassy, Pensacola blacksmiths repaired the Indians' guns, and White presented Mad Dog with a "small amount of food" as well as "ten guns, 150 pounds of powder, [and] 300 pounds of ball."[112]

Despite the munitions Mad Dog procured for the Upper Creeks, the Chickasaws bested the Upper Creeks in battle throughout 1795.[113] A Spaniard noted that between their winter campaign and April, the Chickasaws killed a total of twenty-two Upper

[112] White to Carondelet, 3/4/1795, Pensacola, ETHS 44 (1972), 104-105. During his stay (in February 19-27), Mad Dog wore an "American" coat that symbolized his kinship connections to the U.S. and Agent Seagrove (105). Despite the supplies he received from White, the headman was "not at all content" (105).

[113] The Chickasaws' small population was not a liability. According to Wilkinson's letter to Estevan Miró, 1/26/1790, Lexington, ETHS 22 (1950), 135, the Chickasaw population was "inconsiderable" compared to that of the Creeks or Choctaws.

Creeks and sustained the loss of "only . . . two men."[114] Spanish Governor Carondelet believed that the Chickasaws had killed "some sixty [Upper] Creeks whom they found unarmed on the hunt" before May 1.[115] A more reliable report suggests that the Chickasaws killed only twenty-six Upper Creeks in the same pre-May 1 battle. Regardless of the accuracy of either report, each corroborates the superiority of Chickasaw military power.[116] This intertribal battle was one of the largest in the eighteenth-century Native South, for three hundred Chickasaw warriors faced a war party composed of eight-hundred Upper Creeks. Despite being outnumbered, the Chickasaws defeated the Upper Creeks and suffered minimal casualties.[117] Moreover, in the late summer or early fall of 1795, Mad Dog launched a raid against the Chickasaws. Shockingly, he lost thirty-six warriors.[118] Although the size of Mad Dog's war party is unknown, the death of thirty-six men under his charge dealt a blow to his legitimacy as a military leader.

The Creek-Chickasaw War came to a close in 1797 after a brief round of conflict. In June, a U.S. official remarked that the Upper Creeks had recently killed a "Chickasaw" and wounded another. The Chickasaws retaliated by killing an unknown number of

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[114] Villebeuvre to Carondelet, 4/30/1795, "Yanabé," ETHS 47 (1975), 143.

[115] Carondelet to Casas, 4/30/1795, New Orleans, ETHS 47 (1975), 145. The Governor received this information from Villebeuvre.

[116] Wolf's Friend recognized that the Upper Creeks "lost many more people than the Chickasaws" in the war; see Gayoso to Carondelet, 5/23/1795, roadstead of Esperanza, ETHS 48 (1976), 135.

[117] The Chickasaws lost five men and one woman. The Creeks may have been undersupplied, despite Mad Dog's acquisition of Spanish guns, powder, and shot. For this battle, see Pedro Rousseau to Carondelet, 5/22/1795, Nogales, ETHS 48 (1976), 133. Rousseau received his information from John Forbes, a partner of Panton, Leslie, and Company, who "had passed by the Chickasaw Nation" in early May.

[118] Cherokees and Creeks via "Indian [Cherokee?] Philatuchi" to Governor of Florida (probably Enrique White), 10/21/1795, PLC, reel 10, frame173.

Upper Creeks.[119] Perhaps referring to a separate incident in late June, the new U.S. Agent to the Creeks, Benjamin Hawkins, penned that "Three more of the Creeks lately killed 2 Chickasaws, and the Chickasaws killed the 3 Creeks."[120] Yet, sometime between late June and late October, the Upper Creeks and Chickasaws reached, in Hawkins' words, a "happy accommodation." Securing a permanent resolution to the Creek-Chickasaw War was an extremely complex process that involved intertribal arbitration from the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Lower Creeks. Hawkins, too, became an intermediary; on October 27, he transmitted a Chickasaw peace talk accompanied by "some beads and tobacco" to Creek headmen who assembled in the Lower Creek town of Coweta for that purpose. Although he assisted the peace effort, Hawkins merely built on the diplomatic achievements of other Native leaders, such Lower Creek headmen Tussekiah Mico, Bird Tail King, and Hallowing King, all of whom had helped broker the Creek-Chickasaw peace weeks earlier. During a meeting hosted by the Cherokees in September or early October, for example, Hallowing King of Coweta advised the attending Chickasaws and Upper Creeks to hunt "in peace" and "lie down at night and sleep in peace." Evidence shows that both sides heeded Hallowing King's words of wisdom during the winter hunting season of 1797-1798.[121]

Tussekiah Mico, a trusted Cussita headman, powerfully shaped the arbitration process. His efforts bring our story full circle. Just as Bird Tail King and Cussita Mico

[119] James Robertson to Colonel David Henley, 6/19/1797, Nashville, Tennessee, unnumbered folder, in David Henley Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC (hereafter cited as DHP).

[120] Benjamin Hawkins to Henley, 6/28/1797, "S.W. Point," DHP.

[121] Benjamin Hawkins, "Journal," entries 10/27/1797 and 10/28/1797, LBH, 1:134-136.

announced the Three Rivers Resolution to promote peace with the Americans and Chickasaws in 1793, so Tussekiah Mico helped persuade the Chickasaws and Upper Creeks to lay down their arms four years later. Indeed, Cussita commanded influence in Creek society as a sacred peace town, so it makes sense that Cussita leaders served the Upper Creeks and Chickasaws as intermediaries. In one face-to-face meeting with Chickasaw headmen, Tussekiah Mico instructed them to "mind their hunting and think nothing of peace." To bolster his peace talk, Tussekiah Mico leveraged the Cussitas' ancient friendship with the Chickasaws. He told the assembled headmen that "they and the Cussetuhs were one fire" and, therefore, "one people." Tussekiah Mico underscored the ties of kinship and bonds of alliance that yoked together the Cussitas and Chickasaws in service of peace. Like Bird Tail King before him, Tussekiah Mico championed international peace and goodwill on a grand scale.[122]

Scholars have overlooked the ways in which the Creeks waged a war on two fronts in the 1790s. In addition to dealing with ongoing conflict with American newcomers, Creeks and especially the Upper Creek towns faced a formidable enemy in the Chickasaws. Nor have scholars considered how military conflict spurred Creek coalition-building, which birthed the peace-keeping initiative identified in this chapter as the Three Rivers Resolution. This policy captured and codified the institution of community politics, which gave rise to a vicious cycle of diplomacy and warfare in the Native South. Surely, the Resolution prompted Cussita to rein in Tame King, temporarily

[122] Hawkins, "Journal," entry 10/28/1797, in LBH, 1:135. Tussekiah Mico lived a village community (Upatoi) founded by Cussitas. For Cussita as a "peace" town, see Hahn, "Cussita Migration Legend," in *Light on the Path*, ed. Pluckhahn and Ethridge, 88.

suspended Creek-Chickasaw hostilities, and fostered an alliance led by Mad Dog and Cussita Mico that resulted in Georgia's evacuation of the western bank of the Oconee in late 1794. But because headmen constructed the Resolution from the town up, it lacked an enforcement mechanism to suppress retaliation, especially during the intertribal Creek-Chickasaw War. As a result, that custom enflamed the Upper Creek towns in violence and prolonged a devastating war in which the Chickasaws slowly gained the upper hand. It also periodically strained U.S.-Creek relations, although headmen worked tirelessly to maintain good relations with the Americans so as to preserve trade.

The Three Rivers Resolution sheds light on the relationship between elites and commoners in eastern Native North America. Although Native Americanists argue that Euro-American expansion precipitated generational conflict between leaders and the led, this chapter suggests that the mechanics of consensus accounted for tensions between ordinary and elite Creeks. Creek towns defied Alexander McGillivray's market-oriented decision to consent to the Oconee Cession in order to adhere to town-based traditions. Thus, although he was a wealthy elite and created a wedge between rich and poor Creeks, Creeks rejected his authority because it claimed to surpass what mattered the most: political consensus. At the same time, the generational thesis ignores the ways in which clan justice actually placed headmen and commoners on the same side of the aisle. Retaliation obligated both common warriors and town leaders to launch revenge raids on the Chickasaws. In some cases, of course, Creeks withheld retaliation against the Americans so as to preserve U.S.-Creek trade ties. Even so, headmen tirelessly convinced their relatives to foreswear vengeance against the Americans. No matter the

issue affecting the relationship between leaders and led, consensual politics determined how that played out.

CHAPTER VI

THE HICKORY GROUND RESOLUTION

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the U.S. nation-state rose to power. During the early national era, westward-bound American migrants searched for cheap land, economic opportunity, and social mobility. American expansion brought with it the invasion of Indian Country from the Appalachians to the Mississippi. In the Native South, American farmers and their slaves settled in larger numbers than in the colonial period across the Carolinas, Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. There, they established farms in rich alluvial lands along the region's watercourses, where slaves planted and harvested cotton and other cash crops. The King Cotton slave economy fed the global market, as Northeastern factories manufactured clothing made from cotton and other raw materials supplied by Southern farms. Moreover, Americans migrating to the Mississippi Territory (chartered in 1798) and the Louisiana Purchase lands (1803) invaded Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw lands, creating friction between Natives and newcomers.

The growth of America's presence in the Native South triggered a multipronged crisis among the Southern Indians. American expansion exacerbated cross-cultural conflict and property theft, especially in the forests where Native and American hunters clashed. After 1806, federal engineers constructed the "Federal Road," a horse path that cut through Creek country. American migrants traveled on this road by the thousands

and ignited conflict among Creeks, black slaves, and Euro-Americans.[1] Additionally, Indians in this period more heavily relied on trade goods supplied by the U.S. and by Panton, Leslie, and Company (this firm became John Forbes and Company after 1805). As Indians accumulated enormous debts to U.S. trading houses or "factories," federal treaty commissioners pressed the Indians to cede land in exchange for partial debt liquidation. Previously, Britain employed this land-grabbing tactic, as in the New Purchase Cession of 1773. Above all, the spread of American "liberty" across the South depended on the dispossession of Native people, whose lands (and debts) fed the growth of the nineteenth-century U.S. and global capitalism.[2]

To grapple with the sweeping changes of colonialism, the Creeks assembled more frequently in the late eighteenth century in the National Council. How much power the Council actually possessed over clans and towns is a flashpoint of debate. According to Claudio Saunt, American colonization exerted tremendous pressures on the Creeks and prompted several headmen, beginning with Alexander McGillivray in the 1780s, to

[1] For American expansion and the growth of the Slave South in the early national era, see Adam Rothman, *Slave Country: American Expansion and the Origins of the Deep South* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), especially Chapter Two; Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 67-135; and Angela Pulley Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves and the Making of the American South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), especially Chapters Two and Three.

[2] Rothman, *Slave Country*, Chapter Two; Hudson, *Creek Paths*, Chapters Two and Three; and Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Saunt, *New Order*, 67-135. For American expansion's pushing Creek and Cherokee religion underground, see Joel W. Martin, "Cultural Contact and Crises in the Early Republic: Native American Religious Renewal, Resistance, and Accommodation," in *Native Americans and the Early Republic*, ed. Frederick E. Hoxie, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1999): 226-258. For crisis and renewal in Cherokee society, see William M. McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986).

consolidate judicial and political control in the institution of the National Council. Saunt contends that headmen suppressed the law of retaliation by establishing a coercive police force that punished criminals and weakened the power of clans. The goal was to limit violence between Creeks and Americans, who mistook an isolated incident of clan retribution for a declaration of war by Creeks. U.S. Agent from 1796 to 1816, Benjamin Hawkins was a vocal proponent of ending the law of retaliation in order to keep the peace between both sides.[3] Duane Champagne and Robbie Ethridge suggest, however, that individual clans and towns dictated the extent of implementation of Council policies. Ethridge contends that except in a few cases, the Council largely failed to suppress clan retribution.[4] In sum, it seems reasonable to suggest that the Council neither extinguished community traditions nor ruled coercively.

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[3] For Saunt, the Council was a nucleus of "centralized power" (111), and a small number of market-oriented elites forged a "social compact" that empowered headmen to rule by "hierarchy and coercion" rather than by traditional town consensus. For Saunt's argument and the "social compact," see Saunt, *New Order,* 90-110, 90 ("social"), 91 ("hierarchy"). Although Saunt admits that most Creeks "objected" (90) to the new social order, he still argues that by the 1780s and 1790s the "social compact forced Creeks to deviate from the white path [i.e., traditions of consensus], but few were pleased with the new direction" (110). One wonders how that transformation actually occurred on the ground if, indeed, "few" (109) Creeks welcomed it. For an examination of the transition from Creek society to Creek "nation," see Kevin Kokomoor, "'To be of one mind and one government:' The Creation of the Creek Nation in the Early Republic" (PhD diss, 2014[?]), http://www.kevinkokomoor.com/#!research/c1pvz (accessed 28 July 2015).

Tracing Creek history in the colonial period, Steven C. Hahn makes a similar argument about centralization, arguing that British requests for land forced the Creeks into creating a "nation" with clearly defined borders, which headmen defended in treaty councils. Hahn also argues, however, that Creeks largely adhered to their town and kin loyalties, which precipitated factionalism that, nonetheless, enabled Creeks to remain relatively autonomous by engaging in triple-nation diplomacy with the European powers. See Steven C. Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), especially 7-8, 110-120, 228, 276-277.

[4] Duane Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change: Constitutional Governments among the Cherokee, the Choctaw, the Chickasaw, and the Creek* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 113-117. Champagne contends that the Council's attempts at

More convincing is Saunt's argument (and Gregory Waselkov's and Angela Pulley Hudson's support for that argument) that by 1800, some Council headmen amassed wealth that spawned class divisions in Creek society. The origin of that development stemmed, as Saunt demonstrates, from Hawkins' "plan of civilization" and the subsequent emergence of capitalism (or a profit-motive economy) among Creeks. As the demand for deerskins in Europe dropped in the late 1700s, so did their value and subsequent purchasing power for Native consumers. As a result, Creeks had to rely more heavily on credit to obtain basic necessities from U.S. and Spanish traders and consequently accumulated heavy debt to those traders. To liquidate that debt and encourage self-sufficiency, Hawkins asked the Creeks to abandon hunting, become farmers and ranchers, and produce and sell their own clothing. He conveniently ignored the fact that men and women had been experimenting with mixed-crop agriculture, ranching, and other economically viable practices since the colonial period.[5] Unfortunately, even those who adopted these innovations could not end their dependency on trade goods. As well, several headmen took civilization policy to its logical conclusion by amassing wealth in the form of cash, livestock, and African slaves, who worked the chiefs' lands.

As an ethos of acquisitive wealth took root among a minority of headmen, some leaders became corrupt. As Saunt suggests, headmen began hoarding the annuity monies and distributing them to followers and clan relatives. When famine struck, then, as it did

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centralization "did not become institutionalized by a consensus" until the period following the War of 1812 (113). See, too, Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 107-108.

[5] A point argued in detail and with a focus on Creek women ranchers and traders by Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 13, 15, 142-143, 160-162.

several times in the first decade of the 1800s, ordinary Creeks starved because the wealthy headmen took care of their own families first. As a result of these shifts in the Creek economy, sharp class divisions surfaced. Several rich headmen (or those aspiring to be rich) made profit-motivated decisions that harmed the majority of Creeks. For instance, only six market-inclined headmen ceded prime hunting grounds up to the Okmulgee River in the Treaty of Washington of 1805 (Figure 14).[6]

My research points up a cognitive dissonance in turn-of-the-century Creek society, however. On one hand, class division separting rich from poor unmistakably arose. Clearly, the accumulation of money by wealthy headmen who could afford to own slaves and livestock and who sold cash crops for profit helped generate much of these divisions. Ordinary Creeks were responsible, too. Ethridge reveals that "most" Creek

[6] For the influence of wealthy headmen and the annuity disbursement issue, see *New Order*, especially 213-229. By arguing that mixed-heritage headmen or "mestizos" (89), such as Alexander McGillivray, bearing the capitalist ideologies of their Euro-American trader fathers introduced economic innovation into Creek society, Saunt conflates race with culture. Although many market-oriented headmen were mixed (2), there are three problems with this argument. First, it ignores Native-centered perspectives on race, culture, and economy. See, for instance, Theda Perdue, "Race and Culture: Writing the Ethnohistory of the Early South," in *Ethnohistory* 51:4 (Fall 2004): 701-723, here 715-716, 719-720. Perdue writes that using the "language of blood denigrates the centrality of Native culture and the significance of individual choice," thereby reinforcing Anglo-American racial ideology (719). Secondly, Gregory A. Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit: Fort Mims and the Redstick War of 1813-1814* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2006), 55, demonstrates that mixed-heritage peoples, such as many of the Redstick prophets, eschewed capitalism. Waselkov, Angela Pulley Hudson (*Creek Paths*, 37-65), and I, however, accept Saunt's point that class divisions emerged and exacerbated town-to-town relations. Thirdly, Saunt's contention fails to account for native-born headmen, such as Big Warrior of Tuckabatchee, who owned wealth but who vigorously promoted the majority's interest by defending Creek lands. See, for example, Big Warrior to "Path maker, Chief of the Cherokee," 5/1[?]/1809, Tuckabatchee, in Letters received by the Office of the Secretary of War relating to Indian Affairs, 1800-1823 (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service, 1959), Roll 1 (1800-1816), National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy No. 271, frames620-621 (hereafter cited as LOSW). See, too, "*Journal of Occurrences*," Big Warrior to Benjamin Hawkins, 9/18/1815, Tuckabatchee, in *Letters, Journals and Writings of Benjamin Hawkins*, ed. C. L. Grant (Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, 1980), 2:754-756 (hereafter LBH).

men and women owned livestock, particularly hogs and cattle, and that they probably viewed livestock as a commodity to be bought and sold for a profit. The extent of profit generated from that ownership varied, of course, but the point is that just about every Creek individual was complicit in the emergence of the Creeks' acquisitive market economy, although those with the most wealth (usually the headmen) benefitted the most.[7]

On the other hand, as this chapter argues, plentiful indicates that headmen in the National Council respected community traditions and promoted the majority's interests in the diplomatic sphere. Far from Saunt's coercive centralized body, the Council featured headmen who never missed an opportunity to elevate a town's or province's interests, at least diplomatically.[8] Nor have scholars considered the international/pan-Indian dimensions of the Council.[9] An adaptable institution of power, it absorbed a tension between localism and extra-localism in the Native South, a dynamic captured by what the Creeks called the "Hickory Ground Resolution." In late May of 1803, the Upper Creek town of Hickory Ground hosted the Southern Indians in a Council meeting. On June 2, the Southern Indians announced that Resolution, which was a non-binding compact discouraging a member from agreeing to a land cession without first consulting all members.[10] The Resolution captures the local, national, and international faces of the

[7] Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 160-162, 161 ("most"), 299n23, 300n29.

[8] Saunt, *New Order*, 90-110.

[9] For instance, Champagne, *Social Order*, 113-117 and Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 107-108, tend to focus on the domestic shape of the Council.

[10] A Creek headman called it a "resolution"; see "Opayamicko" (a Hickory Ground headman) to Pensacola Governor (Vicente) Folch, 8/31/1803, location (?), in *The Papers of Panton, Leslie, and Company* (Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications, 1986), reel 15, frame136 (hereafter cited as PLC).

National Council and, generally, of Creek politics in this period. By spearheading the Resolution, Creeks partnered with other Indians to create an indigenous-centered international policy designed to contest U.S. expansion.

Table 6. Coalitions in Turn-of-the-Century Creek Society.

Coalitions	Participating provinces, towns, talofas, and headmen	Participating non-Creeks
- Coalition that signed the Treaty of Coleraine, 1796	- 435 Creeks, among them: Lower Creek: Sohonoketchee of Coweta and Bird Tail King of Cussita Tallapoosa: Big Warrior of Tuckabatchee Abeika (?): Chinabee of Nauchee	
- Hallowing King and Mad Dog coalition of 1798	- Lower Creek: Hallowing King of Coweta - Tallapoosa: Mad Dog of Tuckabatchee	- Western Indian Confederacy ("northern nations") and Southern Indians, including Seminoles
- Coalition that signed the Treaty of Fort Wilkinson, 1802	- 32 Creek towns and several headmen, including: Mad Dog of Tuckabatchee Long Lieutenant of Coweta Hopoie Micco of Hickory Ground	- Cherokee delegation
- Coalition that gave rise to the Hickory Ground Resolution of 1803	- Undetermined number of Lower Creeks - Tallapoosa: Mad Dog and Big Warrior of Tuckabatchee - Alabama: Hickory Ground	- "Four Mothers" (Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks) - Choctaw headman named Mingo Homastabi
- Post-Hickory Ground coalition	- Lower Creek: Coweta, Cussita, Ouseechee, Apalachicola, Little Prince of Broken Arrow (talofa) - Tallapoosa: Tame King of Tallassee and Big Warrior of Tuckabatchee - Alabama: Hopoie Micco of Hickory Ground	

The international flavor of the Hickory Ground Resolution derived from the national flavor of the Three Rivers Resolution. What united each resolution, of course, was Creek localism and the exigencies of communities on the ground. Creeks continued to rely on the traditional machinery of town leadership and networks of kinship to build both national and international/pan-Indian coalitions. Because of its sheer adaptability, the National Council was a fluid outlet through which the Creeks conducted diplomacy and framed policies. Creek headmen, representing their towns in Council, deftly balanced the strictures of clan and town traditions with the necessity of forming larger extra-local coalitions. Because the legitimacy of many (perhaps most) Council headmen continued to rest on the towns and families they represented, it makes sense that Council leaders thrust local issues into larger, extra-local contexts. In short, for the most part headmen obeyed their communities, not the other way around.

How, then, do we explain the dichotomy between an individualist acquisitive economy that generated class division, corruption, and hunger and the persistence of Creek consensus by 1800? The examples I offer indicate that wealthy and non-wealthy headmen more than paid lip service to the political majority and the entrenched practice of coalition-building; they sincerely *believed* in them. Creeks relied on familiar political traditions to navigate through the bog of unfamiliar economic innovations, and most Creeks worried less about economic divisions than about blocking U.S. imperial goals to acquire land. To be sure, the tensions raised by an acquisitive economy boiled over into civil war in 1813, but no Creek in 1800 could predict that that possibility loomed. Instead, Creeks applied political and diplomatic solutions to American expansion. After

1805, as I show towards the end of the chapter, the cession of all Creek lands east of the Okmulgee River motivated Creeks to confront corrupt leaders head-on. They did so by assassinating the Council Speaker, who was in part to blame, and then replaced him with headmen who voiced communal concerns to the U.S. and to other Indians.[11]

[11] For the assassination, see Hawkins to John Milledge, 6/9/1806, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:505.

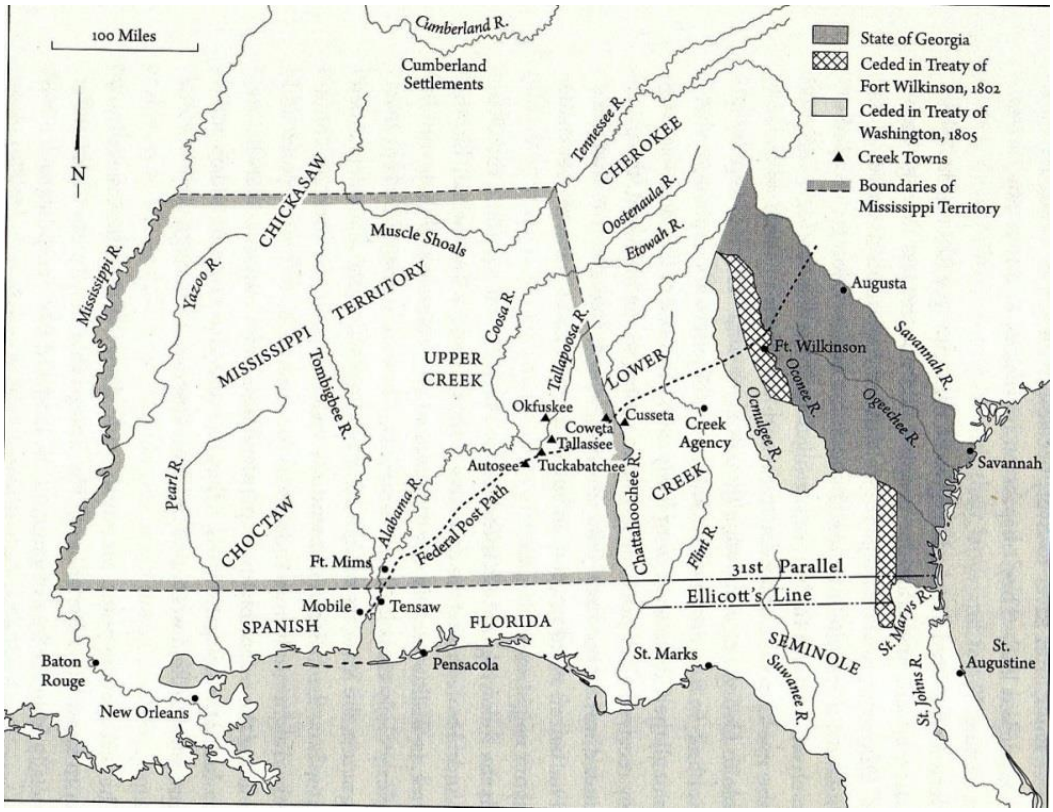

Figure 14. Treaties in the Native South, to 1805. The 1796 Treaty of Coleraine took its name from Coleraine Station, a U.S. fort located on the St. Marys River near Seminole country. The Seminoles lived in numerous polities ranging from Pensacola to the St. Johns River. The 1802 Treaty of Fort Wilkinson was named after that fort, which doubled as a U.S. trading "factory" that supplied goods to the Creeks. The fort lay on the middle Oconee River. *Source*: Angela Pulley Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves and the Making of the American South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), p. 52 (Map 2).

Treaty-making was a nation-to-nation business. According to the U.S. Constitution, only federal commissioners and Native diplomats could make a legally binding treaty. The Constitution gave to the Executive branch the power to negotiate treaties, while the Senate possessed the authority to ratify them. Moreover, Indians accepted as binding those treaties that were negotiated and agreed to by a large majority of people in a particular Indian society. As a result, federal Indian law denied treaty-making power to state authorities and recognized Native sovereignty precisely because a treaty was a nation-to-nation compact.[12] As class divisions emerged in the Native South, U.S. commissioners tempted a few headmen with economic rewards—bribes, really. In a secret article of the Treaty of New York of 1790, recall, Little Tallassee's Alexander McGillivray was made a brigadier general and promised an annual lifelong stipend of $1,200. Other headmen received an annual stipend of $100 in perpetuity.[13]

While scholars are correct to argue that economic interests motivated some headmen to act against national interest, the attendance of numerous townspeople at a given treaty swayed leaders to make political decisions that adhered to town interests. In June 1796, when the Creeks convened with U.S. commissioners, such as Agent Hawkins, at Coleraine Station on the St. Marys River, headmen obeyed the town majority's

[12] Michael D. Green, "The Expansion of European Colonization to the Mississippi Valley, 1780-1880," in *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas, Volume I: North America, Part 1*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger and Wilcomb E. Washburn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 461-538, here 462.

[13] Saunt, *New Order*, 80 (general); Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 199 (stipends). For changing patterns of chiefly leadership in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Choctaw society, see Greg O'Brien, *Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age, 1750-1830* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); and O'Brien, "Trying to Look Like Men: Changing Notions of Masculinity Among Choctaw Elites in the Early Republic," in *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South*, ed. Craig Friend and Lorri Glover (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2004): 49-70.

demands. In what became the Treaty of Coleraine, headmen confirmed the Oconee cession of 1783 but, more importantly, flat-out refused to part with additional lands. Federal commissioners did permit three Georgia officials to attend the conference and to ask the Creeks for a land cession up to the Okmulgee River. The Georgians were prepared to provide trade goods in exchange for the cession. But after "ten days" of "debate," Creek headmen "refused it vigorously," and the matter was dropped. According to one Spanish report, "Georgia [officials] put their goods, that they had bought to make a purchase of the land, on board their Vessel, & returned back without any Success."[14] Aside from preserving the Creek domain, the Coleraine treaty resolved urgent international affairs. It stipulated that boundary commissioners drawn from the Creeks and U.S. must demarcate both the U.S.-Creek boundary along the Oconee River and the U.S.-Spanish boundary in northern Seminole country.[15]

Creek headmen forced the land-hungry Georgians to pack up and return home precisely because the majority of Creek towns attended the conference. The presence of Creek townspeople therefore prompted the headmen to defend their lands. In other words, the Creeks rendered Georgia's request for land an abysmal failure. More than four hundred Creeks led by six "principal" headmen attended the Coleraine negotiations, which opened on June 16, 1796. Twenty-two micos ("kings") and seventy-five

[14] James Durouzeaux to William Panton, 7/23/1796, Cussita, in Corbitt, "Papers ... XVI," GHQ, 265. For the three Georgia commissioners (James Hendricks, James Jackson, and James Simms), see conference minutes, 6/17/1796, in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs* (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1832), 1:597 (hereafter cited as ASPIA).

[15] Treaty of Coleraine, 6/29/1796, negotiated by Benjamin Hawkins, George Clymer, and Andrew Pickens, "Tustincke Hajo," and "*by a number of others* [i.e., Creek headmen]," ASPIA, 1:586-587. Italics in original. The U.S.-Spanish boundary—Ellicott's Line—was run in 1798 (Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 39).

"principal chiefs" presided, along with 152 warriors. Roughly 186 women, children, and other men rounded out the delegation of 435 Creeks. As Cussita's Bird Tail King declared, "[H]ere we are, a representation of the whole nation."[16]

In one of the largest treaty conferences between Creeks and a foreign power on record, Creeks advocated community interests by ensuring the participation of major Creek towns and provinces in treaty-making. Leaders included "Coweta Leader [Mico?]," "Sohonoketchee" of Coweta and his "cousin," John Galphin, and "A Coweta Chief Warrior"; "Abacoo Tustamitca" of "the Broken-arrow old field," a Coweta talofa; Cussita "king"/Mico (or "Big king") and "several of his relations"; Bird Tail King (Fusihatchee Mico) of Cussita, the Lower Creek speaker; "Chinabee, the great Natchez warrior" of the Natchez-affiliated Upper Creek town of Nauchee; and Tuckabatchee's Big Warrior and Alexander Cornells, who served as the Upper Creek speaker.[17]

Perhaps because of the presence of hundreds of men, women, and children at Coleraine Station, Creek headmen infused their defense of sovereignty with bonds of kinship. Before negotiations opened, for example, Tuckabatchee's Big Warrior had a

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[16] For total numbers, number of headmen, see minutes, 6/16, ASPIA, 1:597. See also 6/16 ("principal"), 1:596; 6/21 ("here we are"), 1:599 (see 1:597, too, for Fusihatchee Mico as speaker), all ASPIA. Bird Tail King was also titled "Big king of the Cussetahs" (6/28, 1:608). For "the White-bird-tail king, or Big king of the Cussetahs," see Constant Freeman to Knox, Fort Fidius, 5/11/1794, ASPIA 1:485.

[17] For the Cowetas, see the Coleraine minutes, 6/10, ASPIA, 1: 595; 6/22 (Coweta Leader), 1:600; 6/22 (Sohonoketchee and Galphin), 1:601; and 6/26 (Coweta Warrior), 1:606. And 6/22 ("Abacoo"), 1:600; 6/22 ("Cussetah king" and relatives), 1:601; 6/17 ("Fusatchee Mico, White-bird king"), 1:597; 6/11 (Chinabee), 1:595; 6/10 & 6/18 (Big Warrior), 1:595 & 1:598; and 6/24 (Cornells), 1:604. I removed the original italics from some names. The only named Creek delegate provided at the end of the treaty is "Tustincke Hajo" (Mad Warrior?) (ASPIA, 1:587). Seagrove seems to indicate that Chinabee and Tuckabatchee headmen, such as Alexander Cornells, were friends (ASPIA, 1:403). Apparently, White Lieutenant and Mad Dog abstained from the conference.

private conversation with U.S. commissioners. He lamented that in 1793, American soldiers had killed his brother. The victim had been delivering a Creek message, addressed to President Washington, to U.S. authorities at Coleraine. In the aftermath, U.S. Agent James Seagrove had informed Big Warrior that the "bones of his brother [had been] buried." However, when Big Warrior arrived in Coleraine for the June 1796 conference, he learned that Seagrove had lied to him, that "the bones were now unburied." Consequently, Big Warrior was "for some time . . . almost frantic; he could not speak to the commissioners without tears, and therefore, chose to be silent" until finally meeting them on the 10th. The commissioners promised that they "would have the bones of his brother buried with the honors of war, if he would consent." But "he was silent, took us by the hand, and went out; then said his heart was too full to speak." Big Warrior remained at the conference, but channeled his grief into a defense of Creek lands. For instance, he denounced the U.S. for failing to punish settlers who continued to cross the Oconee River in violation of the international boundary.[18]

Coweta made kinship an issue of sovereignty, too. On June 22, in the midst of negotiations, Sohonoketchee of Coweta told the commissioners that "I have a cousin here," referring to the mixed-heritage John Galphin. Galphin, recall, was the son of the Augusta-based trader, George Galphin, and Metawney, a Coweta woman. Sohonoketchee said that John, a kinship affiliate of the Cowetas, "wants to come in [to the Creeks' encampment], and be about, as another Indian. We, the chiefs, solicit" the

[18] Minutes, 6/10, ASPIA, 1:595 (and 6/15, 1:596). One "or two others" were killed, too. A white man accompanied the small delegation to Coleraine, ditched them just before reaching their destination, and went into the fort, whereupon the soldiers killed the Creeks. To Big Warrior, this chain of events reasonably looked like a conspiracy to kill Indians.

U.S. commissioners "that he may be permitted to come in." "If you see proper," Sohonoketchee continued, "I wish you would look upon him as another Indian." The commissioners thought Galphin was a "very bad man" because he once participated in a Creek raid on American settlements. But the commissioners relented, saying that the "chiefs ... must be the judges" in the matter.[19] Like Big Warrior, Coweta forced U.S. officials into recognizing that kinship was part and parcel of diplomacy.

The Cowetas' request that John Galphin be recognized as a Native delegate revived a touchy issue in Creek politics. In the winter of 1792-1793, Galphin and "a little band of thieves" plundered American and Spanish settlements near the St. Marys River. Milford reported to Carondelet months later that Galphin "robbed them of everything," including "their blankets, sheets, mattresses, seven Negroes, their cows, and horses." Galphin even scalped "a little boy." To keep peace with the U.S. and Spain, the "chief of the nation," probably Mad Dog, encouraged "anybody" who wished to do so to execute Galphin and his men, and "No satisfaction will be asked for their death."[20] Naturally, the Cowetas defended Galphin, a fellow kinsman. In late 1793, Hallowing King of Coweta sent a talk to Enrique White, commandant of Pensacola, informing him that "The Tuckabatchey haed Worrior [Mad Dog] & the Head worrior of the Cusseittaus had agreed to Kill" Galphin. But Hallowing King "could not agree to any Sutch Doings,"

[19] Minutes, 6/22, ASPIA, 1:601. For the Galphin family, see Michael P. Morris, *George Galphin and the Transformation of the Georgia-South Carolina Backcountry* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2015), 26.

[20] Milford to Carondelet, 5/26/1793, Tuckabatchee, in SMV, 4:161. See, too, Olivier to Carondelet, 6/11/1793, Tuckabatchee, in SMV, 4:168.

perhaps because he shared clan affiliation with Galphin.[21] In any case, Galphin was still alive by the 1796 Coleraine negotiations. Possibly, Hallowing King convinced Cussita and Tuckabatchee to drop the matter and address more pressing issues, such as American requests for land.

The Coleraine conference and treaty promoted community. As Creeks turned out in record numbers, leading Council chiefs like Big Warrior and Bird Tail King represented Creek men, women, and children who refused to cede any additional land. Aside from mounting a successful defense of Creek sovereignty, Creeks took the opportunity to address bonds of kinship in Creek society. Although Big Warrior's brother may have never been properly buried, the headman at least leveraged that anger against U.S. interests. By underscoring kinship affairs within Creek society, Big Warrior and Sohonoketchee merged family with diplomacy. The Creeks were sufficiently unified at the local and national level to defend their territory in 1796.

A year later, kinship became a flash point in U.S.-Creek relations. Recall that the Coleraine treaty stipulated that Creek and American boundary commissioners co-survey the Spanish-American boundary. During the running of the boundary in late December, violence erupted. On the 22nd, a party of Georgians shot at five Creeks in southern Georgia near the proposed boundary line. One Creek ("Holithlo Hopoie") was killed, and two others (Nehah Tustunnuggee, a boundary commissioner; and "Samocuhaujo") were injured. The aggressors stole the Indians' "skins, kettles and three horses."

[21] Hallowing King to Enrique White, 1793, Tuckabatchee (?), in SMV, 4:234.

According to a headman named Ochese Tustunnuggee, Nehah Tustunnuggee and Samocuhaujo were "both nephews" of Hallowing King of Coweta.[22]

To compensate the aggrieved clan, Agent Benjamin Hawkins was requested by Creek leaders to officiate at an impromptu funeral ceremony for the slain man. Nehah Tustunnuggee, one of the injured, said, "let the ceremony be postponed over our fire, and it will serve as a funeral ceremony for 2, if not more of us." Hawkins "agreed and requested Captain Webb to act in conformity; to bring the ceremony where we were and march around in front of the wounded camp and perform the ceremony. This he did," observed Hawkins. Days later, Bird Tail King of Cussita and Hawkins discussed the matter. The headman told Hawkins that the deceased and injured were "near relations" of Hallowing King, adding that "the mother of the Commissioner, an old woman, would soon be at their camp." Bird Tail King and other leaders persuaded Hawkins to offer economic assistance to Holithlo Hopoie's wife and children. Obeying kinship protocol, Hawkins replied that he would "take care of the children" and "would be their father."[23]

In the following months, Hallowing King hosted a Council meeting at his home town to patch up U.S.-Creek relations. Coweta became a center not only of national discussion but also of confederation-building. As the eighteenth century waned, the Creeks gradually united with the Western Confederacy to bolster the Native defense of

[22] Hawkins to Colonel Thomas Lamar, 12/23 and 12/24/1797, LBH 1:140-142. The two injured men were nephews of "Youholau Micco" (142). "Ochese Tustunnuggee" (140) was also known as "Tuskegee Tustunnuggee," "Big Feared," and "Feared" (146n5).

[23] Hawkins to Lamar, 12/24, 12/27, and 12/28/1797, LBH, 1:143, 145. Additional quotes from text removed. Bird Tail King is identified as "Fushatchee Micco" (144). The three victims also had "some relations near Ochesehatchee," while the deceased had "a brother who is now up at Tulapocca" (perhaps near the Apalachee River) (145).

land and safeguard the lives of Native families. Through pan-Indian union, the Creeks hoped to convince American authorities that they desired to live and hunt peacefully on their lands, unmolested by American intruders, and to protect their people from unwanted attacks, such as the one in which Hallowing King's relation perished. To that end, the Creeks and Western Confederacy became close allies. Although U.S. military forces under "Mad" Anthony Wayne had subdued the Confederacy in 1794, by 1797 and 1798 Shawnees and other "Northern" Indians had adopted a diplomatic stance towards the U.S. and found a receptive audience among the Creeks.

In May 1798, Agent Hawkins met the Lower Creeks in Coweta to help smooth over the tensions raised by the American attack on Hallowing King's relations. The Cowetas showed Hawkins a "broad belt of peace" they had recently received from the "Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees and the northern nations."[24] On May 7 Hallowing King, belt in hand, addressed the "Chiefs" hailing from twelve Lower Creek towns; Hawkins, present, recorded the Council proceedings. "I have a talk," he began, "it is a short one; the northern tribes sent it to me." Hallowing King read (via a translator) a talk that accompanied the pan-tribal belt, saying: "they have tried our strength and are conquered. The most of our old and best warriors now rot in the earth, or whiten on its surface." Since Northern and Southern Indian warriors lay dead, the surviving communities favored diplomacy over war. "We have made peace," Hallowing King related on their behalf, and "we have buried deep under a great lake our sharp weapons,

[24] Hawkins to William Panton, 5/20/1798, Coweta Tallahassee, in *The Collected Works of Benjamin Hawkins 1796-1810*, ed. Thomas Foster (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 310 (hereafter cited as *CWBH*).

and hope our young ones will grow up in peace and friendship with the children of our red and white brethren, and we hope you Creeks and Simanolees will follow our example, and that you will take the talk and inform us you have done so."[25]

Community echoed in the Council meeting of May 1798, during which Coweta hosted twelve Lower Creek towns and possibly an emissary from the Western Confederacy. By reading the contents of the peace talk and by ritually deploying the belt during the meeting, Hallowing King accepted the Northern Indians' peace overtures on the Lower Creek towns' behalf. He understood that pan-Indian alliance was a means of achieving political stability within Creek society, between the Creeks and Seminoles, between the Southern Indians and the Western Confederacy, and, on the largest scale, between eastern Native America and the United States. In Hallowing King's address, Creek community and pan-tribal community were mutually reinforcing. Having lost a kinsman and nearly the lives of two others to frontier conflict, the Coweta headman was probably delighted in hearing that the Northern and Southern Indians envisaged a future in which "the children of our red and white brethren" would live in harmony. Hallowing King looked after the interests of his clan, his town, the Lower Creek province, and all Indians in the Coweta Council meeting of 1798.[26]

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[25] For the belt and message and for "Yeauholau Mico [Hallowing King of Coweta]" relaying the talk to Hawkins, see Hawkins to Henry Gaither, 5/12/1798, Coweta Tallahassee, CWBH, 312. For "Chiefs" and attendance of "The Chiefs of the 12 towns on this [Chattahoochee] River," see Hawkins to James McHenry, 6/24/1798, Coweta, LBH, 1:208. In this same letter (Hawkins to James McHenry, 6/24/1798, Coweta, LBH, 1:208), Hawkins wrote that "a Chief arrived [on the 7th] from the N. West, with a broad belt & talk of peace strongly expressive and [of] friendship towards all nations red and white." This particular quote implies either that Hallowing King relayed the talk from that chief, or that that chief spoke himself.

[26] Hawkins to Henry Gaither, 5/12/1798, Coweta Tallahassee, CWBH, 312.

An additional Council meeting was required to determine whether the Seminoles and Upper Creeks accepted or rejected the peace belt and talk. To that end, Seminole, Upper Creek, and Lower Creek headmen assembled in Tuckabatchee with Agent Hawkins on May 26. One day later, national speaker Mad Dog deployed a six-strand wampum belt, interwoven with "two white ends, two rows of blue wampums on each edge, and two rows of white wampums thro' the middle." White, recall, symbolized peace between two or more peoples. Mad Dog explained to Hawkins that "The two rows of white are the path of perpetual peace, leading from one white end to the other, and the two white ends are the beloved man [Hawkins], one of them, and the other the Creeks and Seminoles." Like the Northern and Southern Indians, Mad Dog expressed his desire for international peace: "It is with a view to join the hands of the people of the United States and the people of my land that I offer this belt, that they may never again be separated or at enmity." Mad Dog's peace belt communicated to Hawkins the Creeks' and Seminoles' desire to avoid any further violence in the Native South. It also implicitly sanctioned Hallowing King's acceptance of the Southern and Northern Indian peace belt and talk.[27]

Creek headmen promoted international peace on behalf of all Creeks. Hallowing King's and Mad Dog's diplomacy reflected an attempt by Creeks, not by a centralized Council, to restore balance to Creek society and, more generally, the Native South. Although American expansion placed severe strains on Creek sovereignty in the late eighteenth century, headmen parried the blow in the Treaty of Coleraine and during

[27] Hawkins, "Journal," entry 5/27/1798 ("In the Evening"), LBH, 1:186.

National Council meetings. Headmen's power continued to rest on clan, town, and province. In turn, headmen leveraged that power to participate in the circuitry of pan-Indianism, which fueled linkages across Creek towns, among Native societies, and between Native people and America (via Hawkins). When Mad Dog coordinated with and responded to Hallowing King, he tapped into pan-Indian diplomatic initiatives to promote peace on a grand scale and at more local levels, such as among families and towns. No matter how expansive, turn-of-the-century Creek diplomacy shaped and drew upon smaller scales of community.

Creek politics took shape from the ground up as well. During a Council meeting held at Tuckabatchee on November 27, 1799, Upper Creek leaders agreed to a suggestion by Hawkins to "class all the towns, and to appoint a warrior over each class." That warrior would be called a "warrior of the nation." With headmen's assistance, Hawkins generated a document listing nine classes that encompassed a cluster of Upper Creek towns. Whether the Upper Creeks implemented or ignored the policy is unknown, but the report itself reveals the localist mindset of the National Council on the eve of the nineteenth century (Figure 15). Despite (and probably because of) the chaos precipitated among the Upper towns by the Creek-Chickasaw War and Hawkins's attempt to interfere in the affairs of the National Council, Upper Creek headmen classified their towns according to the logic of inter-community ties. Each class resembles a kind of mini coalition within which member towns might turn to one another for assistance. Additionally, the report is a crucial snapshot of Upper Creek country outlining the deep continuities among Upper Creek towns just a decade before the Redstick War engulfed

the region in civil war. In short, the classification of Upper Creek towns took shape along the localism of Creek society rather than pandering to Hawkins' attempts to organize and centralize the Creeks.[28]

[28] For his report, see Benjamin Hawkins, "A sketch of the Creek Country in the years 1798 and 1799," LBH, 1:306-307.

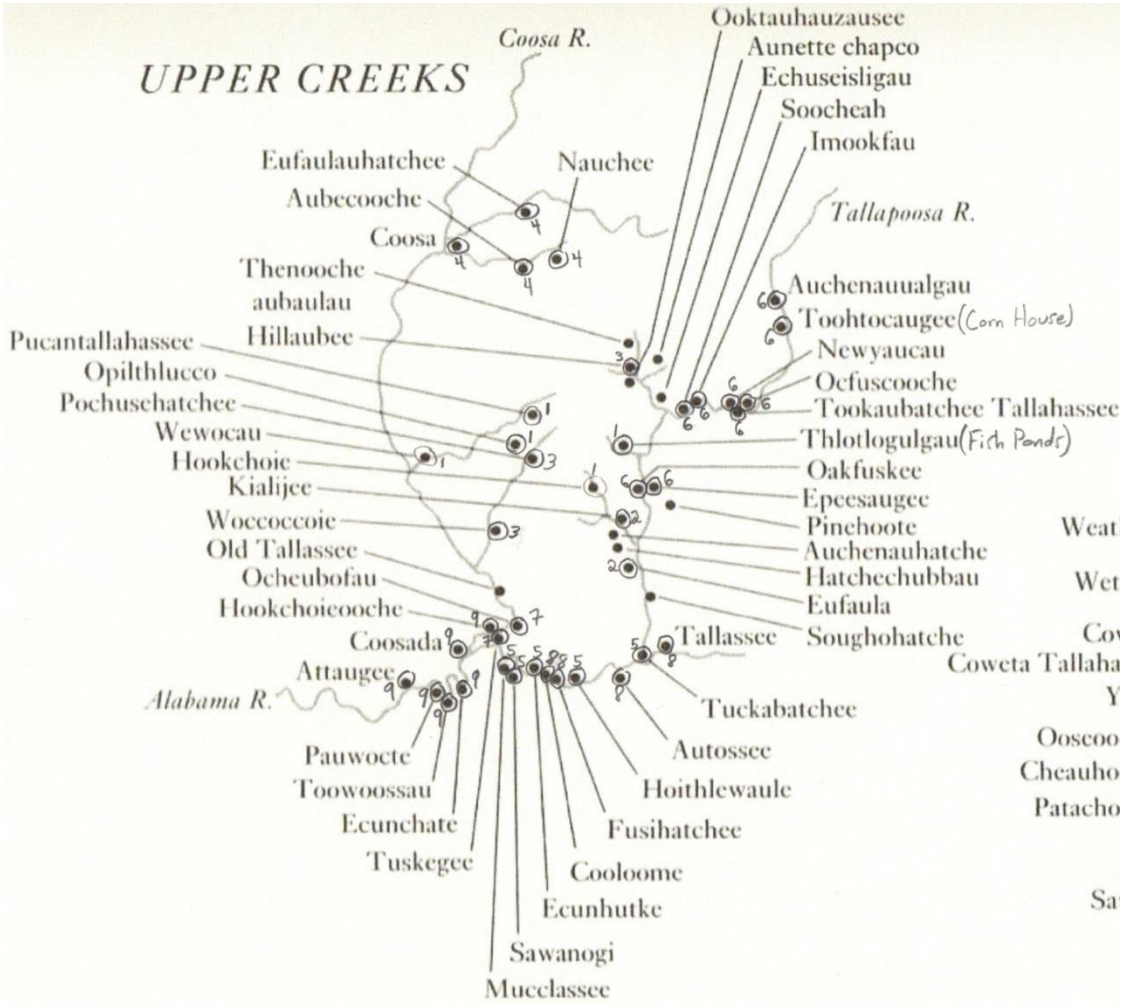

Figure 15. Classification of the Upper Creek Towns, 1799. Agreed upon during a National Council meeting hosted by Tuckabatchee on November 27, 1799, the nine classes are as follows: "**1st**. Hookchoie, Wewocau, Pucantallahassee, Opilthlucco and Thlotlogulgau [Fish Ponds]"; "**2d**. Kialijee and Eufaula"; "**3d**. Hillaubee, Woccocoie and Pochusehatche"; "**4th**. Aubecooche, Nauchee, Coosa and Eufaulahatche"; "**5th**. Hoithlewaule, Ecunhutke, Sauvanogee, Mucclassee and Tookaubatche"; "**6th**. Ocfuskee and its villages, Soocheah, Newyaucau, Immookfau, Tookaubatche Tallahassee, Tooktocaugee, Auchenauulgau, Ocfussooche and Epeesaugee"; "**7th**. Ocheubofau and Tuskeegee"; "**8th**. Tallassee, Autossee, Fushatchee and Cooloome"; "**9th**. Hookchoieooche, Coosada, Ecunchate, Toowossau, Pauwocte, and Attaugee" (306-307). Hawkins added that "6 and 8 are the white towns" (307). (Boldfaced numerals are mine.) *Source*: Map photocopied from Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), p. 29 (Figure 2). Additional markings are mine. For Hawkins's report, see "A sketch of the Creek Country in the years 1798 and 1799," LBH, 1:306-307.

Classes One, Three, Five, Eight, and Nine reflect towns' shared provincial identities. For instance, Class One enveloped five Abeika towns, including Wewocau, Okchai, Pucantallahassee, "Opilthlucco," and Fish Ponds ("Thlotlogulgau"). "Simmomejee" of Wewocau was appointed "warrior of the nation" over that class. In another example, Class Five elected "Opoie Emaultau" of Hoithlewaulee the "warrior of the nation" over five Tallapoosa towns, namely Hoithlewaulee, White Ground, Sawanogi, Muccolossus, and Tuckabatchee. Additionally, in creating Class Eight, headmen grouped together four other Tallapoosa towns, including Tallassee and Autossee. This recognized the Tallassee-Autossee partnership forged under Tallassee's Tame King during the Revolution. Aside from province-based classes, at least one class probably recognized the enduring bonds between a mother town (*talwa*) and its villages (*talofas*). In that vein, Class Six pairs Okfuskee with eight of its villages, such as Corn House, Nuyaka, and Ocfuscooche (Little Okfuskee).[29]

When Upper Creek headmen grouped Okfuskee with its village offshoots, that decision possibly reflected the enduring kinship ties between a talwa and its talofas during a period of town fragmentation. By the turn of the century, a greater number of Creeks supplemented traditional communal farming with animal husbandry. Since cattle and hog ranching exhausted a town's soil patterns, the townspeople migrated away from the town center in search of fresh land in rural floodplains, triggering a geographical

[29] Hawkins, "A sketch," LBH, 1:306-307. For Tame King's relationship with Autossee, see "A Talk from the Young Tallassee King from the Uper and lower Towns of the Creeks" to American commissioners, 12/15/1778, enclosed in Galphin to Lincoln, 1/7/1779, folder 2, in George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780, Edward E. Ayer Collection, MS 313, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL (hereafter cited as GGL).

dispersion of Creek people and animals.[30] Joshua Piker has argued that by the 1770s, Okfuskee experienced "a new settlement pattern" as its inhabitants moved to distant villages, which had been settled earlier in the century, to put cattle and hogs to pasture (as well as to farm new lands).[31] By the 1790s geographical dispersal within Creek society had accelerated. But Okfuskee and its out-settlements probably maintained contact, especially after Georgia militiamen invaded and torched Little Okfuskee (thereafter known as "Burnt Village") on the Chattahoochee River in September 1793. After the invasion, some Burnt Villagers returned to the Tallapoosa valley perhaps to reside near fellow kin in the Okfuskee orbit.[32] By 1799, as the creation of Class Six suggests, the connections between town and talofa persisted, despite the enormous environmental shifts affecting Creek mother towns.

Moreover, the Upper Creek town classification of 1799 acknowledged the deep historical continuities among the four towns of Class Four: Aubecooche, Nauchee, Coosa, and Eufaulauhatchee.[33] In the seventeenth century, members of the Coosa chiefdom in present-day north Georgia migrated to the upper Coosa River valley and established three settlements among local inhabitants there. Around 1670, those settlements formed into the Abihka town of Coosa. By the eighteenth century, Aubecooche (a name meaning "Abihka") and, perhaps, Eufaulauhatchee affiliated with and may have sprung from Coosa. After a failed uprising against the French in 1729, the

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[30] A combination of economic, environmental, and political factors induced economic change in Creek country; see Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 140, 155-157, 160-161, 169-170.

[31] Joshua Piker, *Okfuskee*, 127-130, quotes on 127 and 129.

[32] For the invasion and return migration, see Hawkins, "A sketch," LBH, 1:306; and James Seagrove to Henry Knox, 10/9/1793, Fort Fidius, ASPIA, 1:411.

[33] Hawkins, "A sketch," LBH, 1:306.

Natchez Indians of the lower Mississippi valley fled to the Upper Creeks, where the Abihka towns incorporated them. By the mid eighteenth century, all four towns had become a confederated unit and, as evidence demonstrates, maintained kinship ties into the nineteenth century.[34]

To be sure, the way in which the Upper Creeks classified their towns signaled a political shift in Upper Creek country. Hawkins wrote that Classes One through Five "comprise the towns they call Kepauyau, or warriors of the nation." The *Kepauyau* were otherwise known as red or "war" towns. In the Creek moiety system, at least in the early eighteenth century, both red and white towns existed within a province, such as among the Tallapoosas and Abeikas. Whereas red towns commanded military affairs, white or "peace" towns promoted diplomacy with foreign peoples, although a white town might become engulfed in warfare periodically. By organizing their towns along a dual system of leadership, Creeks maintained cosmic harmony by balancing the impulses of war with the cool-headedness of diplomacy.[35] "But," according to Hawkins, "on this occasion" in 1799, "when their existence as a nation depends on their ability to carry the laws into

[34] For the Coosa chiefdom, see Gregory A. Waselkov and Marvin T. Smith, "Upper Creek Archaeology," in *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, ed. Bonnie G. McEwan (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000), 242-264, here 244, 246; and Robbie Ethridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw: The European Invasion and the Transformation of the Mississippian World, 1540-1715* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 113-114 (Coosa), 246 (incorporation of Natchez by Upper Creeks). For Aubecooche, see Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 88. For the continuation of at least the Coosa-Aubecooche-Nauchee alliance in the early 1800s, see Hawkins to William Eustis, 2/24/1811, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:583.

[35] For the red/white moiety in the Native South, see Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 93-94; and George E. Lankford, *Looking for Lost Lore: Studies in Folklore, Ethnology, and Iconography* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2008), 73-96, here 82-83.

execution, [the Upper Creek Council] unanimously agreed that the Etallwau, the white towns, should be classed as warriors."[36]

In other words, headmen reclassified Okfuskee, Tallassee, and other white towns as red towns, thereby at least theoretically requiring them to contribute warriors to the Council's police force. The Council police, known later as the Lighthorse, attempted (though largely failed) to suppress clan vengeance by punishing criminals outside the normal bounds of clan justice.[37] Although it is difficult to ascertain whether the newfound red towns carried "the laws into execution," the *intent* of reclassification raises the possibility that by 1799, persistent frontier conflict and the late Creek-Chickasaw War had thoroughly militarized Upper Creek society. Possibly, as Claudio Saunt has suggested, Creek headmen attempted to centralize their towns (in this case, the Upper towns) under a stricter military structure to eliminate clan vengeance and unite against future requests by American authorities for land.[38]

Overall, however, the 1799 classification of Upper Creek towns and the *re*classification of white towns did not constitute a radical departure from past traditions. First, Hawkins's report exposes the entrenched political and kinship linkages forged among Upper Creek towns both recently and in the deep past. Upper Creek headmen therefore remained committed to a town-based world. Even if they sought to centralize

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[36] Hawkins, "A sketch," LBH, 1:307, wrote that Classes Six and Eight "are the white towns." These encompassed Okfuskee and the Okfuskee villages as well as the Tallapoosa towns of Tallassee, Autossee, Fusihatchee, and Cooloome (306).

[37] For a discussion of centralized "judicial and political authority," see Saunt, *New Order*, 90-110, quote on p. 90. Only in a "few cases," however, did the Council suppress clan vengeance (Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 107).

[38] Saunt, *New Order*, 93, 110.

the Council, the report digs up nine classes of intra-regional mini coalitions, rather than a regionally-unified Upper Creek unit. Secondly, a Creek town's red or white affiliation was not, according to one anthropologist, "permanently fixed." Creek towns frequently gained or lost their moiety status after suffering defeat in the famous two-goal ball game, also known as the "match game," where only towns of the opposite moiety could challenge each other to a game. The Creeks had a general principle that depending on a number of successive defeats, the losing town had to take the winning town's moiety. For example, Autossee was probably a white town in the eighteenth century, but sometime afterwards it lost a series of games to Tuckabatchee, a red town, prompting Autossee to gain Tuckabatchee's red moiety.[39] In sum, Upper Creek headmen in 1799 reflected and reinforced the machinery of inter-town connections.

[39] For the ball game, see Mary R. Haas, "Creek Inter-Town Relations" (1940), in *A Creek Source Book*, ed. William C. Sturtevant (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, 1987), 479-489, here 479 ("match"), 484 ("permanently"), 485, 488 (Autossee and Tuckabatchee). In another example of moiety fluidity, eighteenth-century Pucantallahassee was likely a red town, but by 1940 it had become "a fairly prominent White town" (488). This meant that before 1940, a white town defeated it in one or several ball games. According to Haas, "the number of towns claimed by either semidivison [i.e., moiety] in any period of the history of the [Creek] confederacy was a matter of accident and subject to change at any time" (489). Haas's groundbreaking research holds up after more than sixty years. In 2008, folklorist George E. Lankford argued in *Looking for Lost Lore* that the red and white divisions were "not mutually exclusive" (82). The presence of warriors in a town council demonstrates that the "red could penetrate the white" (82). Moreover, while the evidence shows us that "peace embassies were sent by the council," the "red division usually made up the embassy itself," so that the red division actually implemented a "white act" (83). This leads Lankford to conclude, based on Fred Gearing's 1958 work on the fluidity of Cherokee village structures, that the Creek talwa was "fluid" (83). Greg O'Brien, in *Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age, 1750-1830* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), argues that Choctaw war leaders could become diplomats as circumstances dictated (35). The fluidity of the white-red semidivision at the town, provincial, and tribal level suggests that Charles Hudson's argument that the Southern Indians divided their world into opposites to achieve cosmic balance is somewhat contradicted by the evidence. See Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 317-375.

Lower Creek headmen, too, recognized that the National Council derived its authority from, and could not subvert the traditions of, towns. The Maryland-born William Augustus Bowles shines light on Lower Creek attitudes towards political power. For personal motives, beginning in the early 1790s Bowles styled himself as "Director General" of the Creeks and lived among Creek and Seminole peoples. His strategy was to unite the Southern Indians in a defensive pan-Indian pact that challenged American expansion. Although many Creeks and Seminoles supported Bowles throughout the 1790s, he tended to antagonize U.S.-Creek and Spanish-Creek relations by leading or inspiring Native attacks along the Southern frontier.[40] For instance, sometime in 1799 a Creek-Seminole war party killed American settlers near Seminole country, allegedly on Bowles's orders. Whether Bowles actually moved these Indians to action is unknown, but Hawkins demanded that Creek headmen swiftly punish the marauders. Little Prince of Broken Arrow and Cussita Mico responded to Hawkins by blaming the war party on Bowles's Indians. The headmen told him, "There are 38 great towns in this nation and [do] 20 rogues and mischiefmakers think that they can spoil their talks[?] Are these 20 to give Law to this land? NO. They must not, they shall not."[41]

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[40] According to Benjamin Hawkins, "people from Coweta, Tallahassee, Apalachicola, Hitcheta, Uchee, Oseooche, Oconee, Eufaulau, and Oketeyocenne, have all joined [Bowles] in war against Spain," which in turn soured U.S.-Spanish relations; see Hawkins to Creek headmen, 6/12/1802, Fort Wilkinson, ASPIA 1:677. For Bowles, see J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *William Augustus Bowles, Director General of the Creek Nation* (1967; repr., Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 147; and Gilbert C. Din, *War on the Gulf Coast: The Spanish Fight against William Augustus Bowles* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2012), 39-76.

[41] Hawkins to Alexander Cornells, 11/5/1799, Coweta Tallahassee, LBH, 1:267-268 (additional quotes removed). In a letter to Dearborn, 10/15/1807, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:529, Hawkins wrote that Tuskegee Tustunnuggee was the "principal Chief of Cussetuh the largest of those towns."

On the surface, the headmen's invocation of "38 great towns" endorsed, as they said, a Creek "nation." A Nation, the headmen implied, ought to punish the rogue band of twenty "mischiefmakers" who undermined the national interests of those thirty-eight towns. As the headmen rhetorically asked, would twenty Indians dictate national policy or "Law"? Of course, "NO." In order to punish the wrongdoers and prevent additional frontier violence, the headmen suggested substituting national law for local clan justice. "The mischiefmakers . . . must be sent to the Esaugetuh Emissee [i.e., to the Master of Breath (meaning killed)]. [And if] a man dies, it is the Law, that killed him. It is the nation who killed him. It is not one man or one family." Little Prince and Cussita Mico were saying that criminal punishment fell under the purview of national "Law," thereby replacing the power of clans to punish a wayward kinsman with a Western-style national law-making body.[42] At first glance, then, the Lower Creek headmen promoted national law over local custom to bring the troublemakers to justice.

Upon closer inspection, the headmen conveyed a localist understanding of Council law. First, Hawkins was their immediate audience, and he was a vocal proponent of the suppression of clan justice and of the replacement of clan justice with coercive law. Headmen told Hawkins what he wanted to hear, especially since Bowles's activities plagued U.S.-Creek relations and caused the U.S. to threaten the Creeks with a temporary suspension of trade. Moreover, by invoking "38 great towns," Little Prince and Cussita Mico indicated that national law was consensual, driven by a majority of

[42] Hawkins to Alexander Cornells, 11/5/1799, Coweta Tallahassee, LBH, 1:267-268 (additional quotes removed). The headmen also said: "The Law says such people must have the sticks, and that is their pay. And if they are killed by the Sticks, that is their pay. It is the pay of the Nation. My Opinion is this pay has saved our land from ruin" (268).

"great" talwas and therefore representative of the political majority. Law and policy derived from and could only be implemented by the thirty-eight towns, which formed the backbone of the National Council. Headmen's knowledge of the precise quantity of towns indicates that they understood that local interests filtered, rather than explicitly obeyed, Council authority.[43]

The Lower Creek headmen acknowledged that local traditions, too, guided Council law in the quest to apprehend and/or execute the twenty "mischiefmakers," including Bowles. By invoking the powers of the Master of Breath ("Esaugetuh Emissee"), a major deity in the Muskogean cosmos, headmen couched their message to Hawkins in traditional language. In their view, the Master of Breath would ultimately claim the troublemakers. The best evidence that Little Prince and Cussita Mico promoted a localist understanding of Council authority, however, was their advocacy of the Broken Days custom. They suggested that the Council ought to debate and pass national laws by doing the following: "Let us try the Sticks. It is not the talk of one man. Let us try the Sticks, that is *the law of the Creek people*. If the Sticks will do, very well, we are safe, if they will not do, we must do more."[44] The "Sticks" or Broken Days custom was a pre-contact political practice. To render judgment on a pending decision, such as going to war, a group of towns exchanged a bundle of sticks. As the bundle passed from town to town, each consented to the decision by taking out a stick. If a town disagreed, it simply passed the bundle along to another town. By promoting the Broken Days as a way of

[43] Hawkins to Alexander Cornells, 11/5/1799, Coweta Tallahassee, LBH, 1:267-268 (additional quotes removed).

[44] Hawkins to Alexander Cornells, 11/5/1799, Coweta Tallahassee, LBH, 1:267-268 (additional quotes removed). Emphasis mine.

debating and implementing Council law, the Lower Creek headmen respected Creek traditions and the principle of consensus undergirding those traditins. The National Council therefore exercised authority so long as towns consented.[45]

The Council did, however, fuel national and international coalition-building, as the remainder of this chapter will show. These extra-local coalitions arose from the concerns of the towns represented in those coalitions. The expansion of America both stimulated and hindered the Council's role in the shaping of national and international coalitions. In the early nineteenth century, the Southern states embarked on a program to legally dispossess the Southern Indians of their lands, with Georgia leading the vanguard. In April 1802, Georgia ceded to the U.S. its colonial-era land claims, which extended from the Chattahoochee River to the Mississippi, in exchange for permitting federal commissioners to negotiate the "removal" of the Southern Indians from Georgia in the near future. By agreeing to this "Georgia Compact," the state relinquished treaty-making power to the U.S., which in turn recognized Georgia's suzerainty over land between the Savannah and Chattahoochee Rivers. Lower Creek, Seminole, and Cherokee towns lived

[45] Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 107-108, suggests that consensus hamstrung National Council authority. For the Broken Days tradition, see George Stiggins, "A Historical Narration of the Genealogy, Traditions and Downfall of the Ispocaga or Creek Tribe of Indians" (1958), ed. Theron A. Nunez, Jr., in *Creek Sourcebook*, ed. Sturtevant, 162. Stiggins explained the tradition thusly: "the broken days is a bundle of broken parts of twigs about four inches long every piece for one day tied carefully in a bundle one of the sticks is thrown away at sun rise every day to the last which is the day appointed" (162). The bundle probably passed around a set of towns to render a decision. The Broken Days was also used to alert the townspeople to their upcoming Busk festival; see Bill Grantham, *Creation Myths and Legends of the Creek Indians* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2002), 73. For further examples of consensus-based traditions of alliance, unity, and communication, see Alejandra Dubcovsky, "One Hundred Sixty-One Knots, Two Plates, and One Emperor: Creek Information Networks in the Era of the Yamasee War," in *Ethnohistory* 59:3 (Summer 2012): 489-513, here 489, 492, 498, 506-507.

within this claim, which placed them in the line of fire.[46] Federal commissioners wasted no time in securing a cession of Native lands within the new boundaries of Georgia. Using Creek debts to the U.S. trading house at Fort Wilkinson, Georgia, as leverage, federal commissioners pressed the Creeks for two land cessions. On June 16, headmen touched pen to the Treaty of Fort Wilkinson, by which the Creeks ceded two moderately-sized tracts of land: one between the Okmulgee and Oconee Rivers, where Lower Creeks and Cherokees hunted; and the second, just west of the St. Marys River, where Seminoles hunted. In exchange, the U.S. promised the Creeks additional annuity monies to relieve trade debt.[47]

This treaty exhibits both Creek national unity and Southern Indian disunity. When Creek headmen consented to each land cession, they ignored the Seminoles, who stood to lose land.[48] On the other hand, Creek headmen's agreement to the cessions was apparently supported by their town communities, who attended the Fort Wilkinson conference in large numbers. In late June, after the treaty's signing, Mad Dog of Tuckabatchee addressed a message to the Seminoles informing them of the treaty. He said that the "the two Upper and the Lower rivers"—the Three Rivers—were "now with

[46] For the Compact, see Green, *Politics*, 73; Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 46. For an examination of the legal and political methods by which Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee state supreme courts exercised their rights to secure Indian Removal, see Tim Alan Garrison, *The Legal Ideology of Removal: The Southern Judiciary and the Sovereignty of Native American Nations* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2002), especially 1-33, 234-240.

[47] Treaty minutes, 6/16/1802, commissioners' camp, ASPIA, 1:679-680. The treaty was negotiated by three commissioners: Agent Hawkins, Brigadier General James Wilkinson of Maryland, and South Carolina's Andrew Pickens. For annuity monies, see Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 48.

[48] During the conference, a Cherokee delegation arrived and worked out an agreement with the Creeks about where the borders of Creek and Cherokee hunting grounds lay; see Commissioners Wilkinson and Hawkins to Dearborn, 7/15/1802, near Fort Wilkinson, ASPIA, 1:670.

me," meaning that they approved the treaty. By couching his words in the language of provincial community, he exposed the community basis of treaty-making. Moreover, he told the Seminoles that "thirty-two [Creek] towns" representing the "whole Creek nation" agreed to the treaty. That figure is roughly supported by the commissioners, who later reported that twenty-seven towns and eight villages had been present during the negotiations. In sum, the Treaty of Fort Wilkinson was made possible by the attendance of more than thirty Creek towns—and by ignoring Seminole input.[49]

The presence of numerous towns prompted headmen to air Creeks' grievances. On June 9, in the midst of negotiations, leaders indicted American expansion. Mad Dog excoriated the commissioners' request for land when Georgia lacked the power (and will) to restrain American migrants from crossing the Oconee. He implied that if the Creeks gave away more land, American settlers would simply defy an adjustment of the U.S.-Creek boundary. Additionally, Mad Dog complained of settlers crossing the Tombigbee River into Upper Creek country. They "put over their cattle in the fork on the Alabama hunting grounds" and permit their cows to graze "a great way on our lands." Hopoie Micco of the Upper Creek town of Hickory Ground seconded Mad Dog, adding that "houses are built on our lands, and fields are cleared and cultivated [by settlers]." American expansion signaled the sustained invasion of Creek country. The Lower Creeks lodged a complaint, too. Long Lieutenant ("Tus-ke-ne-hau Chapco") of Coweta

[49] Mad Dog to the Seminoles, 6/30/1802, "Creek Square," ASPIA, 1:680. For commissioners' report, see Commissioners Wilkinson and Hawkins to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn, 7/15/1802, near Fort Wilkinson, ASPIA, 1:669. The conference formally opened on May 24; see minutes 5/24/1802, ASPIA, 1:672.

and Cussita Mico requested satisfaction for the death of three of their townspeople, whom settlers had recently killed.[50]

While Creek towns consented to the Treaty of Fort Wilkinson, the Seminoles probably did not. Creek headmen arrogated to themselves the power to speak for the Seminoles, who, recall, were ethnic offshoots of the Lower Creek towns. On June 30, two weeks after the treaty signing, Mad Dog and other headmen demanded that the Seminoles obey the St. Marys land cession and "listen to the voice of the chiefs of the [Creek] nation." He attempted to give his "talk" a measure of authority by remarking that the Aubocoes" supported it. By calling attention to the Abeikas, Mad Dog invoked some of oldest and most influential towns in Creek society.[51] No matter how Mad Dog framed his authority, however, news of the cession probably infuriated the Seminoles.

By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Seminole towns conducted their affairs autonomously, free from Creek authority. By examining a Seminole talk dated November 1796, we can infer that at least twelve Seminole towns likely ignored the 1802 St. Marys cession. That talk was authored by a Seminole headman named Thomas Perryman who spoke on behalf of "all the Chiefs of the Small Towns on the [Chattahoochee] River," where "there is a good many about Down the river." Perryman sent the message to William Panton, a trader and part owner of Panton, Leslie, and

[50] Creeks to commissioners, 6/9/1802, ASPIA, 1:674-675. Mad Dog also demanded that those who had murdered Big Warrior's brother in 1793 be arrested and punished, revealing that neither James Seagrove nor Benjamin Hawkins had addressed Big Warrior's complaint at the Coleraine treaty conference. The identification of "Tus-ke-ne-hau Chapco, of Cussetah" (ASPIA, 1:675) is incorrect. Tuskenehau Chapco (Long Lieutenant) belonged to Coweta, not Cussita. See, for instance, "Tuskenehau Chapco, of Coweta" and "Coweta Tuskenehau Chapco" (ASPIA, 1:676).

[51] Mad Dog to Seminoles, 6/30/1802, Creek Square, ASPIA, 1:680.

Company. Speaking for a total of twelve towns on the lower Chattahoochee, Perryman said "that those lower towns has allways sat Still & have been to No [treaties], but the [Creek] Towns has been from one [treaty] to a Nother." He admitted that by meeting U.S. officials in treaty councils, the Creeks acquired trade goods. The Seminoles, on the other hand, "have sat Still, & that is the reason they are . . . poore for things and ammunition." After appealing to Panton for a trade alliance, Perryman declared the twelve towns' independence from the Creeks, even though "we have allways sat Still & lisined to Our friends the [Creeks]." Specifically, Perryman and the twelve Seminole towns repudiated the Treaty of Coleraine, which established a boundary line between the Americans and Spanish and, in the process, impinged on Seminole lands. "We Lower Towns," he said of the Seminoles, "never can agree to [it] & the [Creeks] knows [*sic*] it."[52] Thus, if Perryman's coalition of twelve Seminole towns repudiated the Coleraine treaty and its establishment of a U.S.-Spanish boundary, the St. Marys cession of 1802 most likely upset those Seminoles as well.[53]

The Fort Wilkinson treaty is important for several reasons. First, as Angela Pulley Hudson argues, during the treaty conference some Creek headmen defended Creek lands with a sharp understanding of borders, despite popular notions at the time that

[52] "Thos. Perryman[?], Uhollimicco, Cutchatustonico, Oposehajoe, Efahajoe of Okeha Town, Toatca Tustonica, Opoethlomicco[?], Achalihajoe, Hepuckie, Ninnawageechy[?], Cuseta epoethlimicco, [and] Jack Leallie" to William Panton, 11/14/1796, Chattahoochee, PLC, reel 10, frames670-671. Stephen (?) Forrester served as translator. In Panton to Folch, 11/28/1796, Pensacola, PLC, reel 10, frame690, we learn that the 11/14 Seminole talk came from headmen on the "lower part" of the Chattahoochee River.

[53] The Fort Wilkinson cessions went into effect, however. For the impact of the Coleraine, Fort Wilkinson, and Washington treaties on Seminoles, see Wright, Jr., *Creeks and Seminoles*, 141-142.

Indians lacked a sense of territoriality.[54] Additionally, it unearths the state of Creek politics at the turn of the century. From the Coleraine conference of 1796 to the Fort Wilkinson conference of 1802, treaty-making rested on the participation of numerous towns. From the moment they opened a conference to the moment they touched pen to a treaty, Creek headmen acknowledged their constituents. When Mad Dog announced the presence of the "two Upper and the Lower rivers" at Fort Wilkinson, he revealed a political symbiosis among town/Council headmen, such as himself, and the communities they represented in foreign affairs.[55]

Unfortunately, Creek unity failed to translate into pan-Indian unity. Put differently, American authorities' unrelenting requests for Southern Indian land fostered pan-Indian disunity. By ceding a parcel of Seminole land and demanding that the Seminoles recognize that cession, Creek headmen sought to protect national interests at the Seminoles' expense. Fort Wilkinson forced Creeks to define the intertribal borders of the Native South, causing Creek headmen to appoint themselves to be the arbiters in deciding where those borders began and ended. The stakes were high, as American authorities used Creek trade debts as leverage to force headmen to cede land.[56] Thus, Fort Wilkinson underscored the point that American expansion threw up barriers to pan-Indianism and encouraged Indians to define themselves in opposition to other Indians. But there was a silver lining.

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[54] Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 46-48.
[55] Mad Dog to the Seminoles, 6/30/1802, "Creek Square," ASPIA, 1:680.
[56] Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 49-50, makes a similar point.

Scholars have overlooked a rigorous attempt by the Creeks, in the immediate wake of Fort Wilkinson, to bar any future land cessions in the Native South.[57] In the late spring of 1803, the Upper Creek town of Hickory Ground hosted a National Council meeting. That meeting doubled as a pan-Indian assembly composed of the "four mothers" or "four nations"—namely the Creeks/Seminoles, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws.[58] Euro-Americans attended the conference, too, including John Forbes, who was the younger brother of Thomas Forbes of Panton & Leslie; Estevan Folch, the son of Pensacola's commandant; Agent Hawkins; a French official known only as Croisiers, employed by the Spanish as interpreter; and the self-appointed Creek chief, William Augustus Bowles. On June 2, the Four Mothers announced what one Creek headman later called a "resolution" or, because it took shape in Hickory Ground, what I call the Hickory Ground Resolution.[59] By it, the Southern Indians agreed to cede no additional land to the U.S. without the "consent of the whole confederacy."[60]

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[57] Hudson, *Creek Paths*, examines the "interterritorial" (50) relationship among the Southern Indians at the exclusion of deliberate attempts by individual Native societies and headmen to build confederations. While Joel W. Martin, *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1991), 118, acknowledges Creek efforts to forge a pan-Indian compact in 1803 so as to prevent land loss, he fails to place those facts in a narrative of Creek politics, reverting instead to a comparison of Shawnee attempts to do the same in the Ohio.

[58] For "four mothers," see "Opayamicko" to Folch, 8/31/1803, PLC, reel 15, frame136. From the lips of Mad Dog, we know that the "red people of the four nations" were the "Chickasaws, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Creeks;" see Treaty of Fort Wilkinson minutes, 6/16/1802, ASPIA, 1:679. For another example of "four nations," see Esteban Folch, 5/24/1803, in "Journal of a voyage to the Creek Nation from Penzla. in the year 1803," PLC, reel 14, frame1559. Esteban's journal was addressed to his father, Vicente Folch, Governor of Pensacola.

[59] For "resolution," see "Opayamicko" (a Hickory Ground headman) to Pensacola Governor (Vicente) Folch, 8/31/1803, PLC, reel 15, frame136.

[60] Esteban Folch, entry 6/2, "Journal," PLC, reel 14, frame1571.

Although the Southern Indians soon ceded land without consulting one another, the Resolution showcases, first, the Southern Indians' ability to promote Native sovereignty in a way that contested the Georgia Compact of 1802. While American colonialism divided the Southern Indians, it also caused them to co-envision a future whereby Southern Indian lands, lifeways, and communities could be protected. Secondly, it marked a sharper engagement by the National Council with pan-Indian union, as Creeks parlayed their town-based national Three Rivers Resolution into the town-based *inter*national Hickory Ground Resolution. By balancing the local, national, and international, the Creeks via the National Council synthesized Creek-centric goals with a quest for pan-Indian cohesion.

Creeks' participation in confederation-building gradually accelerated in the eighteenth century. In 1759 and 1760, Mortar of Okchai tried to unite the Creeks and Cherokees against British occupation, although most Creeks failed to support his effort at confederation-building. Under the leadership of the Ottawa headman Pontiac and the Delaware prophet Neolin, in 1763 the incipient Western Indian Confederacy launched "Pontiac's Rebellion." The uprising transcended ethnic difference in the Ohio and Great Lakes regions and, for a time, successfully challenged British imperialism. The Creeks did not necessarily support the Confederacy, however. Rather, they tapped into its diplomatic networks in the attempt to restore peace with the Choctaws.

In the Revolutionary era, Creek headmen more actively dialogued with other Southern Indians. In the summer of 1776, Okchai hosted several Cherokee headmen who arrived with "Talks and belt [belts?] of wampum" from the Mohawks, Delawares, and

Shawnees. A decision to ally with the British or rebels, it seems, necessitated pan-Indian discussion.[61] In March 1786, Spanish Governor Estevan Miró reported that a "meeting [was] held by the Indian tribes, Talapoosa, Cherokee, and Chickasaw, who continue firm in their friendship" to the Spanish. This pan-Indian compact may have deliberated on whether or not to raid the American frontier.[62] Hallowing King's reception of a wampum belt in 1798 by the Northern and Southern Indians was the most recent expression of pan-Indian engagement by the Creeks. By 1803, then, Creeks possessed real-world experience in Native North American confederation-building.[63]

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[61] Taitt to Stuart, 7/7/1776, Little Tallassee, in *Records of the British Colonial Office, Class 5 Files: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783, The Board of Trade, The French and Indian War*, ed. Randolph Boehm (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1983) vol. 77. Those "Talks and belt [belts?] of wampum" may have resembled those presented at a Cherokee conference in late August 1776. In that month, Cherokees, Mohawks, Delawares, Shawnees, Ottawas, and Nanticokes assembled in the Overhill town of Chota to discuss American expansion. The "principal deputy for the Mohawks and Six Nations" urged all Indians to unite against the encroaching Americans. As a symbol of peace and compact, he gave a white and purple belt to Dragging Canoe, a prominent Cherokee warrior, while the Ottawa and Nanticoke diplomats presented belts of their own to the Cherokees. The deputy for the Shawnees gave a "war belt" to Dragging Canoe, saying that the Americans had gradually dispossessed the Indians of their lands and intended "to extirpate" them. For this conference, see Henry Stuart to John Stuart, 8/25/1776, "Chote," RC, 213-214.

[62] Miró to Francisco Cruzat, 3/5/1786, New Orleans, SMV, 3:170. Miró wrote that those Indians preferred Spanish friendship "to that of the Americans against whom they are forming a powerful league" (170). For a 260-person delegation consisting of "the Iroquois, Cherokee, Shawnee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Loup nations" who met with the Spanish in August 1784, see Cruzat to Miró, 8/23/1784, St. Louis of Ylinueses [Illinois], SMV, 3:119. The 1784 delegation may have inspired the meeting referred to in Miró to Cruzat, 3/5/1786, New Orleans, in SMV, 3:170.

[63] Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, argues that the Southern Indians' attempt to unite as a result of the 1803 Hickory Ground meeting constituted a "political revolution" (118). Instead, as I argue here, the Hickory Ground Resolution culminated after decades of sustained effort on the Southern Indians' part to achieve pan-Indian unity or, at least, to discuss such a project. I also argue (below) that the Resolution, while an effort at pan-Indianism, was a unique byproduct of Creek political traditions.

But while the international context of pan-Indian alliance and Southern geopolitics inspired the Hickory Ground Resolution,[64] I argue that Creek politics, Creek community, and Creek political traditions, such as the Three Rivers Resolution, nurtured and breathed life into the Resolution. After all, this was the *Hickory Ground* Resolution, an intertribal compact that nonetheless took shape within a Creek town, during a Creek National Council meeting, and from Creek headmen who conducted the negotiations that resulted in the announcement of the Resolution on June 2. Precisely because the Council adhered to Creeks' local ways of life, it shaped and enabled extra-localism in the Native South. Moreover, Creeks took their rich coalition-building experiences within Creek society and applied them to an even richer international context. But why did Creeks host the May-June 1803 Council Meeting in Hickory Ground as opposed to Tuckabatchee or Coweta, where the Council usually met? Mad Dog explained why.

On June 30, 1802, two weeks after the Fort Wilkinson treaty conference concluded, Mad Dog announced to federal commissioners his retirement from the national speakership.[65] He appointed to that capacity a Hickory Ground headman named Hopoie Micco, about whom little is known. His town was located on the lower Coosa River near the Alabama towns and about twenty miles west of Mad Dog's hometown.[66]

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[64] See, for instance, Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, 118.

[65] Two documents indicate that he likely made that announcement on June 30: Commissioners Wilkinson and Hawkins to Dearborn, 7/15/1802, near Fort Wilkinson, ASPIA, 1:670; and Mad Dog to Hawkins, 6/30/1802, Creek Square, ASPIA, 1:681.

[66] For Hopoie Micco and his town affiliation, see Commissioners Wilkinson and Hawkins to Dearborn, 7/15/1802, near Fort Wilkinson, ASPIA, 1:670. This document is slightly unclear, however. It reads: "Since the treaty, Efau Haujo [Mad Dog], who was the speaker and first chief of the nation, has abdicated his station to this Hopoie Micco, and transfered [*sic*] the seat of the national councils from Tuckaubatchee to Acheaubofau [Ocheubofau (Hickory Ground)], the town in which his successor [i.e., Hopoie Micco] resides" (670).

The retired speaker also selected Hickory Ground as "the town for the meeting of the national council in the future." Mad Dog made this announcement so that "all the chiefs of the Upper and Lower towns may know where business is to be done, that they may attend to it."[67]

Mad Dog chose Hickory Ground for future National Council meetings for two reasons. First, since that town belonged to the white or "peace" division, Mad Dog promoted diplomacy and peace over war. The popular Council seats of Tuckabatchee and Coweta, on the other hand, were both red towns. For a short time after 1802, then, a white town committed to keeping good relations with Euro-Americans and other Southern Indians hosted the National Council.[68] Secondly, Mad Dog may have attempted to modernize the Council. In this attempt, he echoed the community rhythms of Upper Creek life. By the early nineteenth century, a minority of Creeks practiced African American slavery, which was based on kinship rather than race because slaveholders tended to incorporate their slaves into the matrilineal networks of Creek society. One scholar has called these slaves the "African Creeks."[69] Hickory Ground embodied the rich dynamic among slavery, culture, and town life. After Alexander McGillivray passed away in 1793, his sister Sophia Durant, owner of eighty slaves, established Hickory

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[67] Mad Dog to Hawkins, 6/30/1802, Creek Square, ASPIA, 1:681. Curiously, Mad Dog remarked that "Foosahatche Micco [i.e., Bird Tail King of Cussita?] lives" in "Acheaubofau." The secretary, Alexander Macomb, may have mixed up the translation. In this period, Fusihatchee Mico refers to Bird Tail King of Cussita. *Opiya mico* was a war title earned by a town's head warrior, though a town might have several opiya micos (Hahn, *Invention*, 199).

[68] For Ocheubofau as "a white or peace town," see Folch, 5/24/1803, "Journal," PLC, reel 14, frame1559. For Tuckabatchee and Cowetas as council seats, see Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 105. For Tuckabatchee and Cowetas as red towns, see Piker, *Four Deaths*, 148.

[69] Gary Zellar, *African Creeks: Estelvste and the Creek Nation* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), xvii-xix, 10-11.

Ground just downstream from Little Tallassee with her family and slaves.[70] A few years later, according to one report, Upper Creek "negros" made "their way to Mrs. Durand's [i.e., Hickory Ground] to keep Christmas . . . [when] they made a gathering together at Mrs. Durand's or her sister's, where there lived more of the black people than in any other part of the nation." In Hickory Ground, the African Creeks "had a proper frolic of rum drinking and dancing."[71] By appointing that town as the Council meeting place, Mad Dog elevated racial inclusion over exclusion, diplomacy over war, and white over red.

Throughout May 1803, delegations from the Four Nations arrived at Hickory Ground. On May 21, Creek headmen received the "Chactaws' deputies," as Spanish official Esteban Folch observed, "with much ceremony at the square." A Cherokee embassy arrived on or before the 23rd, and during that evening, the Creeks, Cherokees, and Choctaws held a "secret council all night." Folch noticed that "none" of the Indians "are armed, this being a white or peace town. Perhaps they may have left their guns in the woods or somewhere in the Indian hutts. It is certain that none approach the square with arms in their hands." In this way, the pan-Indian assembly relied upon symbols of peace to cultivate an aura of unity among the Southern Indians, similar to Hallowing King's previous attempt in 1798 to align Southern and Northern Indian interests. On the 25th,

[70] For a description of Ocheubofau and Sophia Durant's migration to that town after the death of her brother, Alexander McGillivray, see Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 84.

[71] Benjamin Hawkins, entry 12/25/1796, in "Journal," LBH, 27-29. African Creeks from the "towns" north of Autossee traveled to Hickory Ground for the Christmas festival. Moreover, "the white people and Indians [Creeks] met generally at the same place with them and had the same amusement" (29). Hawkins spent Christmas at trader Richard Bailey's house along the Tallapoosa River about one mile west of Autossee (27). For Durant and Ocheubofau, see Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 84-85. Bailey had a ranch with his Creek wife (Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 69 (figure 10), 78).

Seminole, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee headmen convened in the Hickory Ground square, perhaps to discuss issues related to land cessions and trade debts. In the evening, Native headmen strengthened bonds via dance. Folch witnessed a "dance which is performed" in the "hot house," a "large rotunda" with a "conical roof nearly fifty feet diameter." All members likely participated in the dance which resembled, Folch mused, the "actions and steps as the forest bear when he is taught."[72]

The nuances of Creek politics shaped the intertribal forum. Negotiations got underway only after Creeks from the "lower parts of the Nation" arrived.[73] Moreover, the Council elected Tuckabatchee's Mad Dog and Big Warrior as assembly leaders, who may have possessed more diplomatic experience than Hickory Ground's Hopoie Micco. While Big Warrior was made the "executive officer," Mad Dog served in the capacity of cultural ambassador of the Four Mothers. According to Folch, Mad Dog "keeps the different belts of wampum and preserves the memory of the several embassies that brought them," and on the 26th he narrated "their history before the young warriors, that they might preserve the records after his death."[74] A seasoned diplomat and ritual specialist, Mad Dog knew the ins and outs of Native custom.[75] He therefore served with distinction as the intertribal record-keeper and storyteller.

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[72] Folch, 5/21, 5/23, 5/24, and 5/25, "Journal," PLC, reel 14, frames1557-1561.

[73] Folch, 5/24, "Journal," PLC, reel 14, frame1559.

[74] Folch, 5/26 (for Mad Dog), 5/28 ("executive officer"), "Journal," PLC, reel 14, frames1561, 1564.

[75] Mad Dog once told Benjamin Hawkins that "we have a little hunting; it was what we have been brought up to; it is an old custom, we cannot lay it aside, and we must attend to that too." Southern Indian males would have surely agreed. See Mad Dog to Hawkins, 6/11/1802, Fort Wilkinson, ASPIA, 1:676. For the politics of Native American storytelling and oral traditions, see Steven C. Hahn, "The Cussita Migration Legend: History, Ideology, and the Politics of Mythmaking," in *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern*

On the morning of May 28, the Four Mothers ceremoniously elected, according to Folch, "two new kings." Euro-Americans like Folch tended to employ "king" when referring to the indigenous terms for the head leader of a town. Creeks called their "king" a *mico*; the Choctaws and Chickasaws, a *mingo*. In some cases, though, Indians leveraged these terms in the service of diplomacy. Evidence suggests that the interpreter, Croisiers, and the Choctaw headman "Mingo Homastabi" were each appointed as an intertribal "king." An elaborate ceremony was required for such an appointment. According to Folch, the "kings" were "seated side by side" in one of the structures of the square ground and placed "beneath" them was a "white deerskin," a symbol of peace. A sacred tea known among the Indians as the White Drink was prepared while two square ground officials, appointed for the following purpose, "advanced and one spoke with considerable force of gesture respecting the ceremony that was to be performed . . . and the virtues necessary to be possessed by a king." The speaker then "turned round and put into the Chactaw's hand a white wing" as an additional emblem of peaceful relations, and Croisiers "followed him and ended with the same ceremony." At this point, all of the assembled Indians "got up and gave [the two kings] their hand. The [white drink] was put round and the ceremony ended."[76]

As a result of this ceremony, the Southern Indians transformed Croisiers and Mingo Homastabi each into a Fanni Mico. A Fanni Mico served as a cultural broker for his people and an outside group that fictively adopted him for that purpose. Fanni Micos

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Indians, ed. Thomas J. Pluckhahn and Robbie Ethridge (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2006): 57-93.

[76] Folch, 5/28, "Journal," PLC, reel 14, frames1563-1564.

could be Native or European. We know that in the colonial period the Choctaws adopted several French governors as Fanni Micos, but that a Creek headman named Red Coat King served the British and Creeks as a Fanni Mico. Typically, though, a Fanni Mico, whether Native or European, was supposed to cultivate ties between Europeans and Indians. But by 1803, the Southern Indians appear to have adapted the institution of the Fanni Mico to promote the interests of all Southern Indians and the Southern Indians *only*. Evidence indicates that Croisiers' newfound status as a "king" was merely titular and harkened back to the Franco-Choctaw alliance in the colonial period. There was a general sentiment among the Southern Indians that the French had always made fewer claims on their lands than the British. In the early nineteenth century, when the Southern Indians faced rapid land loss, Croisiers embodied a hope that they could work together to reduce debt and stop the hemorrhage of land.[77]

After the Fanni Mico ceremony, the Four Mothers did two things. First, to strengthen their friendship with Spain and America, they arrested the troublemaker Bowles, who attended the conference, and sent him "under guard" to Tuskegee just south of Hickory Ground. Later that day, Folch and Hawkins traveled to Tuskegee to witness

[77] For the Fanni Mico institution, see Piker, *Okfuskee*, 21-28; Patricia Galloway, "'The Chief Who Is Your Father': Choctaw and French Views of the Diplomatic Relation," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, ed. Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter H. Wood, and Tom Hatley (1989; repr., Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006): 345-370, here 359, 361-364. According to Galloway, the French adopted the role of a father-like Fanni Mingo in Franco-Choctaw diplomacy. In the eyes of matrilineal Choctaws, who respected the clan uncle, the French fanimingo, as a father, wielded no power over the Choctaws. Although Croisiers may have been an integral part of the Hickory Ground Fanni Mico ceremony, he was probably not appointed a Fanni Mico. As Big Warrior informed Folch, the Indians were "going to elect" one king ("a king")," likely a reference to Homastabi; see Folch, 5/27, "Journal," PLC, reel 14, frame1562. "Mico" is the Creek term for town headman, while "Fanni" is Chickasaw for squirrel. The Chickasaws and Choctaws called such a diplomat a "Fanni Mingo" (Piker, *Okfuskee*, 214n14).

Bowles's exile from Creek country. Bowles "was put on board a canoe and the crowd of [Indian] men, women, and children immediately pushed it off." He was bound for Pensacola.[78] Just as the Fanni Mico ceremony unfolded within a rich town context, so Bowles's arrest required the participation of Southern Indian men, women, and children. Secondly, after expelling Bowles from their midst, the Four Mothers announced the Hickory Ground Resolution on June 2. Speaking on their behalf, the Chickamauga Cherokee Doublehead informed the small Euro-American audience that the Indians would now bar one another from ceding land without the "consent of the whole confederacy."[79]

Although the Creeks agreed to the Resolution, they called a National Council meeting to confirm it. Perhaps no other Southern Indians attended the meeting, which indicates that Creek towns preferred to discuss policy decisions on their own terms, allied though they were to their Native neighbors. In this way, Creeks' cross-town politics filtered and translated an international agreement. In late August 1803, Hopoie Micco of Hickory Ground apprised Governor of Pensacola Vicente Folch of the Hickory Ground Resolution. Hopoie Micco explained that at "our first meeting at the Hickory ground when the four mothers was together there in presence of your Son [Esteban Folch] & Mr [John] Forbes [w]e . . . concluded to [give?] no more Land away to the White people."

[78] Folch, 5/28, "Journal," PLC, reel 14, frame1564.

[79] Folch, 6/2, "Journal," PLC, reel 14, frame1571. Doublehead first suggested this policy on May 26, when Folch wrote that "Double Head made a long harangue in favour of unanimity and with many pointed allusions to Bowles" (Folch, 5/26, "Journal," PLC, reel 14, frame1561). Doublehead also revealed that "I dispatched runners to the Choctaws and Chickasaws to meet us here in this square," though surely he discussed this beforehand with the Upper Creeks (Folch, 6/2, "Journal," PLC, reel 14). In 1794, Doublehead defended Cherokee hunting grounds in a talk to the U.S. president. For Doublehead, see Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 76, 140.

Perhaps weeks later, however, all Creek towns ("the whole of us together") attended a Creek National Council assembly whereby the Creeks "confirmed that resolution" and declared their refusal to part with "Land [requested] by the White people." Aside from protecting lands, the Resolution allowed the Creeks to speak with one voice. After all, "what would other [Indian] nations think of us or the white people themselfs," Hopoie Micco queried, if the Creeks ceded land *after* agreeing to the Resolution? They "would say we were a wavering & inconstant" people. By meeting as a national body, the Creeks ratified the Resolution and incorporated it into their world of towns.[80]

The Resolution compelled the formation of a multi-town coalition dedicated to working with the Cherokees. In August 1803, Hopoie Micco informed Governor Folch that the Creeks planned to attend a "great Talk" scheduled among the Cherokees in September. The Cherokees probably invited the Creeks to the conference to discuss the Fort Wilkinson treaty. That treaty stipulated that commissioners drawn from the Creeks and Americans survey a new U.S.-Creek boundary line that lay between the Oconee and

[80] "Opayamicko" to Governor Vicente Folch, 8/31/1803, PLC, reel 15, frame136. Evidence suggests that "Opayamicko" refers to Hickory Ground's Hopoie Micco, for five reasons. First, the translator of the talk was Daniel McGillivray ("Dan McGi"), an Indian countryman who married a Creek woman and lived near Hickory Ground. Second, an "Opoey Mico" of "Hicory Ground" gave his mark to the Treaty of Coleraine; see "Treaty with the Creeks, 1796," 6/29/1796, Coleraine, in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, compiled and ed. Charles J. Kappler (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904), 2:49, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol2/treaties/cre0046.htm (accessed 25 April 2015). Third, "Hopoie Micco" requested "another" blacksmith to be "fixed in the fork of [the] Alabama" River, a request that a headman residing near the Alabamas would be expected to make; see ASPIA, 1:676. Fourth, an "Upoimico" of "Little Tallesseys [forerunner of Hickory Ground]" is listed in William Panton (?),"List of Indians to be Invited to Pensacola," authored between December 1793 and May 1794, Pensacola (?), in Corbitt, "Papers Relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1784-1800, XIV," GHQ, 24:1 (March 1940): 77-83, here 82. Lastly, Hopoie Micco was also known as Singer and attended the 1790 Treaty of New York; see "Opay Mico, or the Singer" of "Little Tallisee," in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, ed. Kappler, 2:28, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol2/treaties/cre0025.htm (accessed 26 April 2015).

Okmulgee Rivers. Because Cherokee hunting lands existed near those rivers, Cherokee hunters feared that the Creeks might convince the U.S. to survey Cherokee lands in order to protect their own. Perhaps to dissuade the Cherokees of that possibility, Hopoie Micco of Hickory Ground, Big Warrior of Tuckabatchee, Little Prince of Broken Arrow, and a Fish Ponds headman planned to confer with the Cherokees in September. Whether the "great Talk" took place is unknown, but Hopoie Micco's message suggests that the Hickory Ground Resolution generated a cross-town alliance among Creek society, and that the Creeks seemed willing to partner with other Native societies in the attempt to coordinate intertribal action via the recently-passed Resolution.[81]

Fortunately for the Cherokees, the Creeks defied running the proposed boundary line, doing so within the legal framework established by the Resolution.[82] In January 1804, only one Coweta and two Cussitas turned out to meet U.S. authorities, including Benjamin Hawkins and a U.S. surveyor named Mr. Freeman, in Georgia. The commissioners' journal reveals that the three Lower Creek commissioners were

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[81] "Opayamicko" to Governor Vicente Folch, 8/31/1803, PLC, reel 15, frame137. For the implication that Cherokees feared the consequences of a boundary line, see Durouzeaux to Hawkins, 5/28/1804, Coweta, pp. 1-2, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC220, *Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842*, Digital Library of Georgia, <http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu> (hereafter cited as SNAD). Fish Ponds may have been a talofa of the Abeika town of Hillaubee; see Upper Creeks to Andrew Jackson, 8/27/1835, Alabama, and William Blue to John B. Hogan, 7/4/1835, Fort Hall, both in *Indian Removal to the West, 1832-1840: Files of the Office of the Commissary General of Subsistence*, ed. Robert Lester and Kristen M. Taynor (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America from LexisNexis, 2006), reel 5, frame782.

[82] For indigenous policies and laws as a constitution of legal resistance to colonization, see Saliha Belmessous, "Introduction: The Problem of Indigenous Claim Making in Colonial History," in *Native Claims: Indigenous Law against Empire, 1500-1920*, ed. Saliha Belmessous (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 3-18, especially 6, 14. See, too, Lorie M. Graham and Siegfried Wiessner, "Indigenous Sovereignty, Culture, and International Human Rights Law," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Special Issue, Sovereignty, Indigeneity, and the Law 110:2 (Spring 2011): 403-427.

intransigent to the decision to survey lands which, they claimed, belonged to Creeks. As a result, the task was never completed.[83] Generally, the Southern Indians recognized that treaty boundaries established artificial lines, and that U.S. surveyors, exploiting that fact, surveyed more Native land than headmen originally agreed to in a given treaty.[84] For this reason James Durouzeaux, a freelance interpreter who worked for the U.S. and Spain, reported to Hawkins that "the talks we can hear all from Oasoochee Towns" (meaning the Lower Creeks) were "against running the line." For his part, Tame King of Halfway House "had a meeting at the apalacheekby[?]," which might refer to the Hitchiti town of Patachoche (old Apalachicola) on the Chattahoochee River. Tame King told the Patachoche people that the "French are returning to their former places" with the result that the "lower [Hitchiti] towns has stoped all their people from gowing on the [boundary] line."[85] At least partially, the Hickory Ground Resolution underwrote Creek resistance to the boundary line and, more generally, constituted a legal challenge to U.S. colonialism.

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[83] Journal of the Commissioners, 1/20/1804, pp. 1-16, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC086, SNAD. The commissioners included Benjamin Hawkins, General John Clark, Major David Adams, and Major Jesse McCall. The Indians included "Tus-ke-ne-hau Thlucco" (a Coweta) and "E-fau Tus-tunnugee and Tus-tun-ngee of Cussetuh" (2).

[84] Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 30, 37-41, 50-51.

[85] See Chapter IV in this dissertation for Tame King's forging ties with the Hitchiti towns during the American Revolution. For Creek discontent, see James Durouzeaux to Benjamin Hawkins, 5/28/1804, p. 1-2, Coweta, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC220, SNAD; Tame King is named "opethlee Micco of the half way house" in this document (p. 1). As well, Durouzeaux wrote: "Note the Opoithle Micco is known by the Tallassee king [Tame King]" (p. 2). Durouzeaux is a reliable observer. After marrying a Creek woman, he gained access to her matrilineage and became familiar with Creek politics. For Durouzeaux, see Andrew K. Frank, *Creeks and Southerners: Biculturalism on the Early American Frontier* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 35.

The Hickory Ground Resolution embodied the twinned dynamics of confederation and community politics. In the Treaty of Fort Wilkinson, Creeks ceded land that abutted Cherokee hunting grounds and that encompassed Seminole hunting grounds. This treaty generated friction among the Southern Indians by exposing the reality that indigenous boundaries were imprecise and by encouraging individual Native societies to privilege their interests over and above others'. As a result, the Four Mothers sought to align Native interests and protect Native land by chartering the Hickory Ground Resolution. The pan-Indian compact demonstrated an impressive, albeit brief, example of pan-tribal unity in the early national era. At the same time, as Creeks adapted the Three Rivers Resolution to an international context, the Hickory Ground Resolution captured a more rigorous attempt by Creeks to confederate with other Indians. Creek town traditions and cross-town ties in Creek society informed that transition. By hosting the Four Mothers in the white town of Hickory Ground, by appointing Mad Dog and Big Warrior to positions of intertribal leadership, by ratifying the Resolution in a separate town-based Council meeting, and by partnering with fellow Creek towns to implement it, ordinary Creeks and Council headmen localized confederation.[86]

A November 1805 treaty conference between Creek headmen and federal commissioners in the City of Washington, however, upped the stakes. In what became the Treaty of Washington, just six Creek headmen ceded the prime hunting grounds in

[86] By using the term "four mothers," Southern Indian headmen may have asserted their shared sovereignty by appealing to kinship. See, for instance, Christina Gish Hill, "Kinship as an Assertion of Sovereign Native Nationhood," in *Tribal Worlds: Critical Studies in American Indian Nation Building*, ed. Brian Hosmer and Larry Nesper (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2013): 65-110.

the fork of the Oconee and Okmulgee Rivers. With the stroke of a pen, the Okmulgee River became the new U.S.-Creek boundary (Figure 14). The headmen also permitted the U.S. to construct a road through Creek country, namely the Federal Post Path, otherwise known as the "Federal Road."[87] In exchange, William McIntosh of Coweta and the five other signatories were granted exclusive rights to establish and operate any ferries, stands, taverns, or other commercial enterprises along the Federal Road.

The decision by a small group of headmen to cede land captures the class divisions that had emerged in Creek society by the early 1800s. Some market-oriented headmen had begun to make decisions without popular approval.[88] According to Angela Hudson, the Treaty of Washington marked a rupture in "Creek national politics" because it essentially pitted six market-oriented headmen against the masses, the have-nots, who reeled from hunger and lack of access to new forms of wealth.[89] I do not contest these interpretations, yet I argue that they gloss over the ways in which ordinary Creeks actively contested economic cleavage and replaced corrupt headmen with those respecting consensus. The remainder of the chapter explores this dynamic.

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[87] Alexander Cornells ("Oche Haujo") of Tuckabatchee, William McIntosh of Coweta, Long Lieutenant ("Tuckenehau Chapco") of Coweta, "Tuckenehau" (of Coweta?), "Enehau Thlucco," and "Chekopeheke Emanthau" consented to the treaty. National Speaker Hopoie Micco did not attend. For the six signers, see "Treaty with the Creeks, 1805," 11/14/1805, City of Washington [DC], in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, ed. Kappler, 2:85-86, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol2/treaties/cre0085.htm (accessed 25 April 2015). For "Tuskenehau Chapco" as Long Lieutenant of Coweta, see ASPIA, 1:676.

[88] For class divisions and their impact on towns, see Saunt, *New Order*, 139-185, 213-229; Waselkov, *Conquering Spirit*, 72-74.

[89] Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 63-65 (Road), 64 ("Creek national politics"), 139 (Big Warrior). In the same year, Cherokees granted to the U.S. the right to build two roads through their society. Cherokee headmen's "entrepreneurial interests . . . trumped most other concerns" (63), not to mention the Hickory Ground Resolution. By the early 1800s, minority groups of headmen across the Native South ceded land or permitted the opening of roads through the heart of their societies in exchange for economic concessions.

As news of the Okmulgee cession trickled into Creek society in the winter of 1805-1806, the Creeks, armed with the power of consensus, executed Speaker Hopoie Micco of Hickory Ground. Hawkins reported to a Georgia official that "Hopoie Micco . . . was murdered . . . by two men of Cussetuh."[90] Although Hopoie Micco never traveled to Washington for the treaty, he bore indirect responsibility for the Washington treaty because, as Speaker, he represented the face of the Council. Also, common Creeks began to believe that the Council inadequately addressed the crises afflicting their world. Hawkins once wrote that Hopoie Micco "and the old [Council] Chiefs" had "expressed to me their apprehension, that the intruders on their rights would dispossess them of their lands, their hunting nearly done, their young people *improvident* and *ungovernable*, their [trade] expenses accumulating on them . . . and the land speculators eager to misrepresent . . . them" (my emphasis).[91] Clearly, the Council could not solve all of these issues. But perhaps the most immediate cause of the Speaker's execution was his culpability in the Treaty of the Creek Agency. In November 1804, fully a year before the Washington treaty, Hopoie Micco and "select [Creek] men" met Benjamin Hawkins at the U.S. Agency on the Flint River. There the headmen consented to the Okmulgee cession, anticipating the Washington treaty by a year.[92]

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[90] Hawkins to John Milledge, 6/9/1806, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:505. I believe this "Hopoie Micco," a common war title among Creeks, refers to Hopoie Micco of Hickory Ground because the following documents suggest as much: Hawkins to Henry Dearborn, 9/11/1805, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:499; Hawkins to Panton, 7/10/1800, Fort Wilkinson, LBH, 1:339; and Hawkins, "Journal," entry 10/28/1797, Coweta, LBH, 1:137.

[91] Hawkins to Dearborn, 1/2/1805, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:487.

[92] Scholars have not acknowledged this treaty by which perhaps only a few headmen agreed to the Okmulgee cession. For the Creek Agency treaty, see "A Treaty concluded between the United States of America and the Creek nation of Indians," 11/3/1804, Creek "agency, near Flint River," ASPIA, 1:691. The treaty was "Signed by Hopoie Micco, and other Indians," and

By executing the Speaker, the Cussitas excised from office those headmen they perceived as corrupt. More generally, that act captured and buttressed the Creeks' broad-based view of consensual leadership traceable to the colonial period. Only those leaders whose coalitions, policies, and diplomatic language toed the communal line maintained legitimacy, such as Wolf of Muccolossus, Mortar of Okchai, Emistisiguo of Little Tallassee, Fat King of Cussita, Tame King of Tallassee, Mad Dog of Tuckabatchee, and even the nation-builder, Alexander McGillivray. Indeed, executing the Council speaker was a drastic move that probably required the consent of numerous Lower and Upper Creek towns. Recall that a national coalition of headmen appointed the Cussitas to carry out the execution of Ochlulkee, an Okfuskee man, in 1774.[93] A generation later, Creeks again called upon the Cussitas to execute Hopoie Micco, another political outcast. Unlike Ochlulkee's execution, however, Hopoie Micco's death sparked a brief moment of division between the Lower and Upper Creeks.

The execution of a prominent officeholder mounted a serious challenge to Council authority and, as Hawkins wrote from Tuckabatchee, "perplexed every thing here."[94] The "Chiefs are yet divided, proud and jealous, [and] full of intrigue," he observed. As a result, Creeks debated the speaker's succession. They "cannot unite in a speaker," "the young men" refusing to accept "the sale of the Ocmulgee lands" ceded in

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Hopoie Micco is named "the speaker" (691). In exchange, the Creeks received "presents," promises of livestock, and additional annuity monies (691).

[93] David Taitt to John Stuart, 7/7/1774, Augusta, enclosure 10, in Stuart to Dartmouth (?), 8/2/1774, in *Records of the British Colonial Office, Class 5 Files: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783, The Board of Trade, The French and Indian War*, ed. Randolph Boehm (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1983), vol. 75, frame154.

[94] Hawkins to John Forbes, 5/29/1806, Tuckabatchee, LBH, 2:505.

the Washington/Creek Agency treaties. Nor did a candidate step forward. Oche Haujo (Alexander Cornells), who signed the 1805 treaty, did not want the Speakership, for he had "been alarmed by . . . threats for his personal safety."[95] The vast majority of Creeks indicted Council leadership. As Hawkins observed, the Creeks were "confused & suspicious," and because game was scare, "their hunters were ungovernable" and "charged the Chiefs with giving away their lands" in 1802, 1804, and 1805.[96]

Although the Speakership remained vacant as late as July 1807, Upper and Lower Creek leaders repaired the breech between the Council and the towns by heeding their constituents' demand for exorcising corrupt leaders from the Council. For instance, in that month, Hawkins learned that Upper Creek headmen were "distrustful" of two Coweta leaders, namely William McIntosh and Long Lieutenant, who signed the Washington treaty. Upper Creek headmen believed these men to be "too much attached to and in the interest of the white people," meaning they were corrupt.[97] The Lower Creeks agreed, and by October, Little Prince of Broken Arrow and Cussita Mico (also known as "Tuskegee Tustunnuggee") had replaced McIntosh and Long Lieutenant, who were "dismissed from office."[98] By ousting McIntosh and Long Lieutenant, Upper and Lower Creek headmen bowed to the pressures of common Creeks who demanded

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[95] Hawkins to Thomas Jefferson, 9/13/1806, Tuckabatchee, LBH, 2:508. Hawkins also wrote, "The Blaim has been thrown on Mr. Cornells and myself" (508).

[96] Hawkins to Dearborn, 10/16/1808, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:540.

[97] Hawkins to Henry Dearborn, 7/23/1807, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:522.

[98] Hawkins to David Meriwether, 10/1/1807, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:527. In a letter to Dearborn, 10/15/1807, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:529, Hawkins wrote that Tuskegee Tustunnuggee was the "principal Chief of Cussetuh [Bird Tail King?] the largest of those towns." In a message to Hawkins enclosed in Hawkins to Dearborn, 10/8/1807, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:528, Little Prince and Cussita Mico indicated, however, that the signers of the 1805 treaty misunderstood the specifics surrounding the construction of the Road.

community leadership. The Council reform of 1807 generated stability between the Lower and Upper towns. In November 1808, for example, headmen from both the Lower and Upper towns convened with Hawkins in Okmulgee, an old Creek settlement area, to collect the annuity monies established by the Treaties of New York, Fort Wilkinson, and Washington.[99]

In April 1809, the National Council finally settled on a new speaker, Tame King of Halfway House. Just months later, the National Council convened there.[100] At first glance, Tame King's appointment to the national speakership was provocative. In the 1780s, he signed the Creek-Georgia treaties that first established the Oconee River as the U.S.-Creek boundary and sparked controversy with the Upper Creeks. In the 1790s, he defended that boundary by participating in raids on American settlements along the Oconee corridor, thereby poisoning U.S.-Creek relations. In part to condemn his actions and promote diplomacy with U.S. officials, Creek headmen chartered the Three Rivers Resolution. Although I am unable to locate evidence uncovering his activities in the late 1790s and early 1800s, headmen may have marginalized him.

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[99] Hawkins to Dearborn, 11/14/1808, "Ocmulgee," LBH, 2:542; Hawkins to Dearborn, 11/12/1808, "Ocmulgee," LBH, 2:543. The Treaty of New York of 1790 recognized "Six Great Medal Chiefs," three of whom were alive in 1810, including Mad Dog, Tame King, and Bird Tail King ("Cussetuh Mico"); see enclosure in Hawkins to William Eustis, 2/14/1810, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:561.

[100] For Tame King as speaker and for his message to the newly-inaugurated U.S. President James Madison, see Hawkins to William Eustis, 10/10/1809, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:556, 557n1. For the Council assembling in Chattucchufaulee on February 8, 1810, see Hawkins to Eustis, 2/14/1810, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:561 ("In the meeting of the National Council we had a long and interesting discussion" about the Federal Road, Hawkins wrote). Around October, headmen again met in Chattucchufaulee; see Hawkins to Edmund P. Gaines, 10/25/1810, LBH, 2:575.

Still, Tame King emerged as speaker because he voiced the interests of all Creeks and coolly mastered the language and symbols of diplomacy. Unlike William McIntosh or Hopoie Micco, Tame King had his finger on the pulse of popular opinion. Evidence bears this out. In May 1811, he addressed a message to U.S. President James Madison from "Chatteeck, chu, fau, lee[?]" (Chattacchufaulee), otherwise known as Halfway House, Tame King's town. This town was positioned about "halfway" between the Lower and Upper towns, thereby striking a chord of unity and fairly representing all Creek towns. Moreover, Tame King used kinship language that evoked Creeks' desires for peace and sovereignty. In the talk, he contested the Federal Road, reasoning with the logic of clan ties that "I have a large family of people in the Country and cannot govern[?] all so as to preserve a good understanding." He linked land and livelihood, emphasizing that U.S. roads "would bring trouble on our Country - I am an old man and speaker for our warriors[.] when we find a thing will not be good for us we must say it will not do. [T]he great god made us and the lands for us to walk on." Specifically, the Federal Road constituted an attack on Creek sovereignty, for "what land we have left is[?] but large enough to live and walk on." Also, Tame King sought to harmonize generational ties, for if the U.S. failed to restrain expansion, "our young people will say our old people are crazy and do not look into our rights." In short, Tame King marshaled his skill in diplomacy and rhetoric to defend his people—"a large family of people."[101]

[101] "Hoboheilthlee Micco" (Tame King) to the "President," 5/15/1811, "Chatteeck, chu, fau, lee[?]," enclosed "Indian talk," in folder 1811, unpaginated, in Letters received by the Office of the Secretary of War relating to Indian Affairs, 1800-1823 (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service, 1959), Roll 1 (1800-1816), National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy No. 271, frames 554-556 (hereafter cited as LOSW). For

As speaker Tame King promoted Creek interests, Big Warrior of Tuckabatchee revived the spirit of the Hickory Ground Resolution. Unlike the late Hopoie Micco, Big Warrior's status as a wealthy slaveholder did not preclude him from representing his society's concerns. He ardently defended Southern Indian lands. In May 1809, around the time the Creeks chose Tame King as speaker, the Tuckabatchee headman sent a letter to a Cherokee headman named Pathmaker. Perhaps raising the gnawing issue of intertribal boundaries, Big Warrior scolded the Cherokees for permitting the Americans to settle in "our Country" and "disturbing our young people." Creeks, he said, "do not Like" being "mix'd with the white families" who coveted Creek lands and sowed dissension among the Indians. Big Warrior thought he could address these problems by reminding Pathmaker of the 1803 Hickory Ground Resolution, saying

> You Know that it was agreed among The four nations, at this house [Hickory Ground] that we all should be of one mind, and one sentiment, and not to do, any thing contrary To that Talk; It has been repeated over and over at This house To the most of the head Chiefs, of the ~~four nations~~; Cherokees[. The Americans are] a trying daily [to steal] the Chiefs mouth, you ought to be a sham;d of your conduct. [Creeks must keep their land] for our families, our Children, Childrens[?], And try to unite ourselves in peace and happiness.[102]

Chattacchufaulee's location, see Gregory A. Waselkov and Brian M. Wood, "The Creek War of 1813-1814: Effects on Creek Society and Settlement Pattern," *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 32:1 (June 1986):1-24, here 11 (Figure 1), 12.

[102] Big Warrior to "Path maker, Chief of the Cherokee," 5/1[?]/1809, Tuckabatchee, in folder 1811, LOSW, roll 1, frames620-621. In shaky script, Big Warrior signed his letter "BW." Although "this house" might refer to Tuckabatchee, he probably meant Hickory Ground. For "hickery grown," see "Bigg Warrior[?]" to Hawkins, 4/11/1809, Tuckabatchee, in folder 1811, LOSW, roll 1, frame613. Possibly, too, Tuckabatchee became the new seat of the Four Nations after Hopoie Micco's execution. In 1813, the Cherokees reported to the U.S. Agent for the Cherokees that the "four different tribes of Indians generally had their friendly conferences" in Tuckabatchee; see Cherokee headmen ("Kanchestaneskee," "Wassasee," "Richard Brown," and "Bear Meat" at "the request of . . . PathKiller") to Return Meigs, 7/23/1813, "Creek Path," p. 1, MS2033 Penelope Johnson Allen, PA0214, SNAD.

He therefore promoted pan-Indian unity to align Native interests, with the ultimate goal of protecting Creek land, families, and sovereignty. Big Warrior was a square headman, a sincere voice for a Creek majority, which he thought would best be serviced by pan-Indianism. In fact, the Hickory Ground compact echoed among Creeks as late as April 1810, when Hawkins wrote that Big Warrior and "his associates" as well as "some . . . Chiefs of the Upper Creeks" made "an other attempt . . . to unite the four nations under the Muscogee confederacy."[103]

Big Warrior's repeated attempts to achieve pan-Indian unity suggest that although American expansion divided the Four Mothers, headmen like himself kept the idea alive on behalf of Creek towns, clans, and families. Like a good community leader, Big Warrior hoped that the Resolution might preserve Creek sovereignty and protect Creek "families" and "Children."[104] Tame King alerted President Madison to the exact same concerns. Together, Tame King and Big Warrior exemplified the ways in which community shaped the Creek Council's national and international goals in turn-of-the-century Creek society. Just as Tame King voiced the national interests of "a large family of people," so Big Warrior encouraged pan-Indian unity to protect those same interests or, in his words, "our families [and] our Children."[105] Community, nation, and pan-

[103] Hawkins to Eustis, 4/8/1810, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:562.

[104] Big Warrior to "Path maker, Chief of the Cherokee," 5/1[?]/1809, Tuckabatchee, in folder 1811, LOSW, roll 1, frame621.

[105] For "large family," see "Hoboheilthlee Micco" (Tame King) to the "President," 5/15/1811, "Chatteeck, chu, fau, lee[?]," enclosed "Indian talk," in folder 1811, LOSW, Roll 1, frame554. For "our families [and] our Children," see Big Warrior to "Path maker, Chief of the Cherokee," 5/1[?]/1809, Tuckabatchee, in folder 1811, LOSW, roll 1, frame621.

Indianism: the National Council exuded and reflected all of these thrusts, despite the emerging class divisions in Creek society.

In the early national era, American migrants and slaves settled in unprecedented numbers in the Native South and exerted tremendous pressures on Indians to cede land and adopt Euro-American ways of living. To survive change, the Creeks continued to privilege the locus of community and encourage town headmen, who served in the National Council, to enact policies that promoted the traditions and livelihood of Creek towns and families. Although market-oriented headmen ceded land in the Treaty of the Creek Agency and of Washington, the day-to-day authority of the National Council hinged on consensual practices. In the Treaty of Coleraine, the Treaty of Fort Wilkinson, Hallowing King's diplomacy, the classification of Upper Creek towns, the invocation of the Broken Days tradition, the Hickory Ground Resolution, or in the emergence of Tame King and Big Warrior as prominent Council headmen in the early 1800s, the Creek Council personified the general interest—the many faces, whims, and attitudes of Creek clans, towns, and provinces.

The National Council was not a coercive body but a kind of institutional chameleon whose political shades changed according to circumstances in Creek country.[106] In some cases, it worked on behalf of all Creeks by forging cross-town coalitions that in turn gave rise to international ones.[107] The Hickory Ground Resolution

[106] For centralization, see, for instance, Saunt, *New Order*, 90-110.

[107] For the decentralization school, see Champagne, *Social Order*, 113-117, and Ethridge; *Creek Country*, 107-108; Green, *Politics*, 12. As Green argued in 1982, the primary function of the Council, at least in its incipience, was "to acquaint leaders of the major towns with one

of June 2, 1803, for example, captures the local, national, and pan-Indian shades of Creek country most clearly. A unique constellation of elements gave rise to the Resolution. As Creeks more robustly participated in the project of confederation-building, they spearheaded a Council meeting that brought the Four Mothers together and encouraged unity among the Southern Indians. By hosting the Council meeting in the multiracial peace town of Hickory Ground, Creeks signaled the modernity of Creek politics and re-applied the Three Rivers Resolution of 1793 to an international coalition of Indians. Indeed, the Resolution was a culmination of Creek efforts in the late 1700s and early 1800s to organize their world along the lines of clan, town, and nation. This is not to deny the agency of the Cherokees, Seminoles, Choctaws, and Chickasaws at Hickory Ground but, rather, to highlight the unique diplomatic initiatives of Creeks and their National Council.

The Era of the Hickory Ground Resolution marked the simultaneous rise of class divisions and the enduring vitality of community politics. Unmistakably, the Creeks' biggest political achievement in this era was to rework the Three Rivers Resolution into the Hickory Ground Resolution. While each respected and promoted community interests and consensual leadership, the Hickory Ground compact was more explicitly pan-Indian and recognized the crucial need for Indians to unite against colonization. Although the Southern Indians failed to do so, we should not fault them for that failure or expect them to have known that the Redstick War, much less Indian Removal, loomed ahead. In many ways, the Hickory Ground Resolution served communal ends through

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another and with events in distant places" (12). "One thing is quite clear, however. The Creek Confederacy was never designed to have a central government" (12).

international means. Big Warrior's message to Pathmaker called for pan-Indian unity as a way to protect *Creek* "families [and] Children."[108] Big Warrior and his counterpart, Tame King, were doing what any good Council headman was appointed to do: recognize, empower, and speak for community. Although the class divisions that surfaced by 1800 impoverished the commoners and inspired the eruption of civil war in 1813, the late 1790s and early 1800s feature numerous examples of headmen promoting community at local, national, and international levels. When necessary, as in Hopoie Micco's assassination, ordinary Creeks offered the proper correctives to the abuse of power. Unfortunately, as Chapter VII will show, political solutions would become a liability in maintaining order in the Creek universe.

[108] For "our families [and] our Children," see Big Warrior to "Path maker, Chief of the Cherokee," 5/1[?]/1809, Tuckabatchee, in folder 1811, LOSW, roll 1, frame621.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

In 1812, the U.S. declared war on Great Britain. For years, the Royal Navy had been "impressing" American sailors into His Majesty's service and obstructing trade on the high seas. Moreover, contrary to the Treaty of Paris of 1783, the British refused to evacuate key forts in the Great Lakes country, an act of defiance that the U.S. viewed as a threat to its sovereignty. The War of 1812 pitted American "citizens" against British "subjects" in Canada, but it also divided each country. One historian argues that in northeastern North America, where some of the heaviest fighting occurred, the War of 1812 became a "civil war," a battle within each country for "the hearts and minds" of soldiers, sailors, and civilians, all of whom possessed their own contested meanings of citizen and subject. Despite a series of land and naval battles, neither the British nor the Americans gained the upper hand, and the war reached a stalemate in 1814. In December, British and American diplomats signed the Treaty of Ghent, ending the war.

In the South, the War of 1812 pitted the Americans, British, Spanish, and Indians against one other for control of the land and resources there. But just as the war divided the Shawnees in the Ohio valley and the Iroquois in New York, so too did the Southern Indians face internal strife. From 1813 to 1814, Creek society devolved into a civil war known as the "Redstick War," named after the red war clubs or "sticks" traditionally

carried by Creek warriors.[1] Led by several prophets, thousands of Upper Creek Redsticks espoused two goals: 1) nullify U.S. civilization policy, and 2) alleviate the problems raised by growing economic disparities in Creek society. America's official policy towards all Indians in eastern North American was to encourage them to become yeoman farmers and ranchers. This meant that men had to abandon hunting, and that women, many of whom fulfilled the role of farmer in their society, had to become housewives and attend domestic duties, such as spinning and weaving. U.S.-Indian treaties provided the implements of husbandry and domestic work, including monies for livestock, fencing, plows, and carding units. The Redsticks repudiated civilization because it mounted a threat to traditional Creek gender roles, spawned a class of wealthy headmen, and triggered inequality and hunger in towns.[2]

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[1] For a compelling synthesis of the War of 1812, see Alan Taylor, *The Civil War of 1812: American Citizens, British Subjects, Irish Rebels, and Indian Allies* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), 3-12, 4 ("citizens" and "subjects"), 5 ("hearts"), 7 ("civil"). For the transition from "borderlands" to "borders" and the power of borders to constrict Native mobility and sovereignty, see Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 2006), esp. 403-407. For the southern theater of war and the Creeks' participation in it, see Gregory A. Waselkov and Brian M. Wood, "The Creek War of 1813-1814: Effects on Creek Society and Settlement Pattern," in *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 32:1 (June 1986): 1-24; and Robert G. Thrower, "Causalities and Consequences of the Creek War: A Modern Creek Perspective," in *Tohopeka: Rethinking the Creek War and the War of 1812*, ed. Kathryn E. Holland Braund (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012): 10-29.

[2] For the "plan of civilization" among Creeks, see Joel W. Martin, *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1991), 87-113; Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 13, 15, 140-157; Gregory A. Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit: Fort Mims and the Redstick War of 1813-1814* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2006), 24-26, 72-73; Angela Pulley Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves and the Making of the American South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 34. For economic disparities that became increasingly stark among Creeks by the 1810s, see Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 139-185, 213-229; and Waselkov, *Conquering Spirit*, 72-74.

In a larger sense, the Redstick War originated in what anthropologists call a "revitalization movement." A society reeling from impoverishment and political powerlessness undergoes revitalization when a prophet steps forward, rejects the dominant ideology of a colonizer, envisions a return to old ways, and teaches his people how to regain control of their world.[3] According to Joel Martin, the Creek Redstick prophets launched a revitalization movement in 1813 to end dependence on trade goods, reject the political and cultural influence of Hawkins' civilization plan, and shore up Creek spiritual power. To those ends, Redsticks encouraged their followers to execute Hawkins and the so-called accommodationist chiefs like Big Warrior of Tuckabatchee. Although Creek revitalization was a product of crises within Creek society, the Redsticks were also inspired by the Shawnee warrior Tecumseh and his brother Tenskwatawa (known as "the Prophet"). These two men had previously ignited a pan-Indian revitalization movement in the Ohio country.[4]

[3] The scholarship on indigenous revitalization is vast. A foundational text is Anthony F. C. Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (1969; repr., New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1972), especially 3-18, 239-337. In this chapter, I rely on Michael E. Harkin, "Introduction: Revitalization as History and Theory," in *Reassessing Revitalization Movements: Perspectives from North America and the Pacific Islands*, ed. Michael E. Harkin (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), xv-xxxvi; and Alfred Cave, *Prophets of the Great Spirit: Native American Revitalization Movements in Eastern North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), ix-xiii and 1-10. For a global approach to revitalization, see Michael Adas, *Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against European Colonial Order* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1979).

[4] Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, especially 114-163. Martin's later scholarship essentially rehearsed *Sacred Revolt*; see, for instance, Martin, "From 'Middle Ground' to 'Underground': Southeastern Indians and the Early Republic" in *Religion and American Culture*, ed. David G. Hackett (New York: Routledge, 1995), 127-146; "Cultural Contact and Crises in the Early Republic: Native American Religious Renewal, Resistance, and Accommodation," in *Native Americans and the Early Republic*, ed. Frederick E. Hoxie, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 226-258; and "Visions of Revitalization in

Similar to Martin, Gregory Evans Down contends that revitalization was intertribal. He traces the shared concerns of Creeks, Cherokees, Shawnees, Delawares, and numerous other Native groups who resisted colonialism by harnessing "spiritual power." Dowd argues more forcefully than Martin that revitalization transcended ethnic, political, and regional boundaries and gave Indians a wide support network on which to draw. Each scholar, however, tends to pigeonhole revitalizing Indians into two categories. Native people were either "nativists," who waged war against the U.S., or "accommodationists," who preferred to maintain or cultivate ties with the U.S.[5]

To understand the finer points of revitalization, recent scholarship traces the Redstick War in a more complex framework. For one, Robert Collins highlights the divisions *within* the Redstick camp, as there "is no reason to think that all Red Sticks believed to the same extent in a revival of Indian spiritual power, much less that all of them agreed on a single course of action." In turn, Gregory Waselkov demonstrates that kinship ties shaped relations among the Redstick prophets, which perhaps explains why the Redsticks failed to agree on a "single course of action." To tease out the connections among the Redsticks, he examines underused genealogical records. Angela Pulley Hudson's approach is innovative, too, for she directs our attention to space, place, and territoriality when thinking about resistance and societal change. She contends that the passage of thousands of American migrants on the Federal Road in the early 1810s

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the Eastern Woodlands: Can a Middle-Aged Theory Stretch to Embrace the First Cherokee Converts?," in *Reassessing Revitalization Movements*, ed. Harkin, 61-87.

[5] Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993). Although the Redsticks/nativists were defeated in 1814, Martin and Dowd contend that their legacies for pan-Indian union endured into the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

obstructed the mobility of Creek towns and families. Creeks attempted to limit the presence of American travelers by charging tolls and intimidating and, in some cases, assaulting the passers-by.[6]

For the most part, however, scholars overlook the impact of revitalization on Creek politics.[7] If, as Chapters V and VI of this dissertation have argued, Creeks forged two political resolutions to partially address American expansion at the turn of the century, then how did revitalization reshape those coalitions and, more generally, coalition politics? Moreover, since this dissertation has traced Creek coalition-building over time, the how did revitalization affect that deep-rooted political practice? I argue that the Redstick civil war and the subsequent U.S. invasion of Creek country both restructured and exposed a deep continuity in Creek politics. On one hand, coalition-building became a means of *dividing* rather than uniting Creeks. From the colonial period to the early nineteenth century, headmen attempted to unite Creek towns in coalitions designed to stymie Euro-American encroachment, preserve land, secure trade, and end intertribal violence. During and after the Redstick War, however, Creeks gradually began to erect coalitions explicitly and vigorously to undermine *each other*.

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[6] Robert P. Collins, "'A Packet from Canada': Telling Conspiracy Stories on the 1813 Creek Frontier," in *Tohopeka*, ed. Braund, 53-83, here 66; Waselkov, *Conquering Spirit*, especially 32-95; Gregory Evans Dowd, "Thinking Outside the Circle: Tecumseh's 1811 Mission," in *Tohopeka*, ed. Braund, 30-52; and Hudson, *Creek Paths*, especially 91-144. In a recent article, "Common Justice: Vengeance and Retribution in Creek Country," *Ethnohistory* 62:2 (April 2015): 241-261, Evan Nooe argues that the Redsticks broke with accommodationist chiefs who centralized the National Council and who prohibited clan justice (250-256).

[7] I am unable to locate any relevant scholarship on a political approach to revitalization, although Harkin, "Introduction," in *Reassessing Revitalization Movements*, xxx-xxxv, points out that scholars studying indigenous revitalization movements must employ a historically-sensitive model that respects the cultural nuances and contingencies of the society in question. In other words, because markers of clan and town identity were extremely important in Creek culture, I argue that we ought to direct our attention there.

Coalitions formerly promoted Creek stability, but they gradually (though not immediately) caused instability in the 1810s. Despite a brief but important period of dialogue between the Redsticks and National Council, each side mobilized support through a town-based coalition that enhanced civil war and postwar division.

Political change was made possible only by the continuity of consensus. In fact, the brief dialogue between the Redsticks and National Council in the initial months of civil war was caused by the same political principle that came to render coalition-building a divisive institution: consensual leadership. Both the National Council and Redstick leadership had different strategies, but each cultivated authority by mobilizing as many supporters as possible, for the most part, among towns and, in some cases, families. Creeks navigated revitalization, civil war, and U.S. conquest the only way they knew how and the only way they could, as coalitions, but those same coalitions gradually—then permanently—divided Creeks by 1821. In that year, the U.S. acquired Florida from Spain, but that date also represents the completion of the exodus of the "Florida Redstick Creeks," who removed themselves from Creek country and from the old coalition system. Another way of explaining the change and continuity in the Redstick era is as follows: the Creeks relied on traditional means (consensus) to achieve new ends (oppose one another through coalitions). By examining Creek revitalization's impact on Creek politics, I demonstrate that Creek political traditions, such as coalition-building and consensus, fueled division. While U.S. supremacy and the divisions it spawned among Creeks ignited the Redstick War, scholars have overlooked the ways in which Creek culture itself bore some responsibility for intra-societal disunity. Since the

colonial era, of course, consensus caused all kinds of problems. It encouraged town and clan autonomy, which thwarted coalitions, triggered international conflict, and undermined pan-Indianism. Yet the persistence of Creek consensus in the Redstick era prompted Creek society to collapse from within.

Table 7. Creek Coalitions in the Redstick War Era.

Coalitions	Participating provinces, towns, talofas, and headmen	Participating non-Creeks
- Sixteen-town Redstick coalition of August 1813	- Tallapoosa: Hoithlewaulee, Fusihatchee, Cooloome, White Ground, Sawanogi, Muccolossus - Abeika: Wewocau, Pucantallahassee, Woccoccoie, Pochusehatchee - Alabama: Little Okchai, Hickory Ground, "Alabama" - Auxiliary towns: Okfuskee, Tallassee, Autossee	- Occasional contact with Western Indian Confederacy and Spanish West Florida
- Eleven-town peace coalition of September 1813	- Lower Creek: Coweta, Coweta Tallahassee, Cussita, Ouseechee, Aumucullee - Tallapoosa: Tuckabatchee - Abeika: Fish Ponds, Kialijee, Okchai, Wewocau - Upper Eufaula (an Abeika or Tallapoosa town)	- U.S. Agent Benjamin Hawkins
- Postwar (or National Council) coalition of 1814-1815	- Lower Creek: William McIntosh of Coweta, Little Prince of Broken Arrow (talofa), Cussita, Hitchiti - Tallapoosa: Big Warrior of Tuckabatchee - Several Abeika towns, including Kialijee and Wewocau - Alabama: "Talessee Fixico" of Hickory Ground, Captain Isaacs of Coosada	- Major General Andrew Jackson and U.S. Agent Benjamin Hawkins
- Possible coalition among Florida Redstick towns and Seminole towns by 1820	- Tallapoosa: between six and eight towns Key leader: Peter McQueen of Halfway House	- Seminole towns, such as Miccosukee

Several factors created the perfect storm that triggered civil war. The major issue was that many Creeks began suffering from poverty and hunger in the early 1800s. As the value of animal peltry plummeted in Europe, Creek hunters could no longer rely on the seasonal hunt to purchase weapons, clothing, iron and brass implements, and food for themselves and their families. As a result, their trade debts to both the U.S. and Panton, Leslie (which became John Forbes and Company in 1805 after William Panton passed away) deepened. Moreover, town headmen hoarded the federal annuity payments established by the New York, Fort Wilkinson, and Washington treaties. Corrupt headmen failed to distribute those monies to their townspeople and, instead, kept them for themselves and their families. As the global deerskin trade gave way to a global cash-based economy rooted in the profit motive, headmen acquired new forms of wealth. Big Warrior and William McIntosh owned livestock and slaves and by the standards of their society, were "rich." The new Creek economy privileged the wealthy and marginalized the majority of Creeks, who continued to farm and hunt and who formed the basis of the Creeks' communal political world.[8]

Economic change demonstrates that the Three Rivers and Hickory Ground Resolutions, while each embodied a creative political response to colonization and inter-Indian conflict, inadequately addressed the everyday needs of poor and hungry Creeks. By the 1810s, what the Creeks needed—and what the Redsticks essentially advocated—was an *economic* resolution repudiating acquisitive wealth, U.S. meddling in Creek affairs, and market-oriented headmen. To be sure, not all market-oriented headmen

[8] Saunt, *New Order*, 139-185, 213-229; Waselkov, *Conquering Spirit*, 72-74.

narrowly looked after their own interests. A leading Tuckabatchee headman and Council member, Big Warrior genuinely cared about his town and, it seems, all Creeks. He hoped to preserve Creek land against the American onslaught, lamenting the fact that Americans "mix'd" among the Creeks and "[disturbed] our young people."[9] Still, by 1812 and 1813, Redsticks decried the narrow self-interest of what probably only a minority of the National Council.

Hawkins' "plan of civilization" gave rise to the Redsticks, too. After arriving in Creek country in the winter of 1796-1797 as U.S. Agent to the Creeks, Hawkins promoted a vision of society that transformed Creek hunters into farmers and ranchers, and that took women out of the matrilineal crop fields and placed them into the home, where they would spin cloth and tend house. To his credit Hawkins recognized that the value of deerskins dwindled in the late eighteenth century, narrowing Creek hunters' ability to secure trade goods, even food, for their families. He knew that Creeks bought more goods on credit that plunged them into debt. To help make the Creeks solvent and economically competitive, Hawkins proposed a "plan of civilization." This program encouraged economic self-sufficiency among Creeks by asking them to participate in the global market economy in other ways. If men abandoned hunting, they could find the time to practice more viable alternatives, such as mixed-crop farming and ranching.

[9] See Big Warrior to "Path maker, Chief of the Cherokee," 5/1[?]/1809, Tuckabatchee, in Letters received by the Office of the Secretary of War relating to Indian Affairs, 1800-1823 (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service, 1959), Roll 1 (1800-1816), National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy No. 271, frames620-621 (hereafter cited as LOSW). Gregory A. Waselkov and Brian M. Wood, "The Creek War of 1813-1814: Effects on Creek Society and Settlement Pattern," *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 32:1 (June 1986):1-24, here 7, suggest that Big Warrior "supported" Hawkins and the civilization policy. Yet Big Warrior's talk to Pathmaker indicates that he wished to direct Creek affairs without Hawkins' meddling.

Similarly, he encouraged women to participate in the economy by producing their own clothing and selling excess clothing products and other manufacturable goods. In short, Hawkins' "plan" urged Creeks to acknowledge that the changing economy required innovation to make ends meet.[10]

There were two problems with civilization policy, however. First, it was an ethnocentric policy that ignored Creek-initiated economic innovation. As Robbie Ethridge contends, men and women had been experimenting with ranching and mixed-crop farming for decades. Creek women especially adopted ranching into the traditional female agricultural cycle for decades. Ethridge goes so far as to assert that late-eighteenth-century women harbored a "commercial aggressiveness" to help feed and clothe their families, and women sold cattle at markets and to passers-by. Women, in fact, were more flexible than men, who refused to abandon hunting.[11] Secondly, the new market strategies embraced by women and some men failed to help Creeks access basic foods and goods. Worsening matters were those wealthy headmen who unevenly distributed annuity monies and treaty presents when, for instance, crops failed and famine struck in 1803, 1807, and 1808.[12]

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[10] For the "plan of civilization" among Creeks, see Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, 87-113; Saunt, *New Order*, 139-163, 213-229; Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 13, 15, 140-157; Waselkov, *Conquering Spirit*, 24-26, 72-73; Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 34. For Creek and Cherokee women's incorporation of new economic practices into established agricultural customs, see Kathryn E. Holland Braund, "Guardians of Tradition and Handmaidens to Change: Women's Roles in Creek Economic and Social Life during the Eighteenth Century," *American Indian Quarterly* 14:3 (Summer 1990): 239-258, here 241, 245-246, 253; Tom Hatley, "Cherokee Women Farmers Hold Their Ground," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, ed. Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and Tom Hatley (1989; repr., Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 305-335, esp. 313-322; and Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 140-157.

[11] Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 13, 15, 142-143, 160-162, 142 ("commercial").

[12] For famine years, see Saunt, *New Order*, 214-215.

Additional kindling that fueled the eruption of civil war was the promise of Native renewal offered by the Shawnee Indians, including Tecumseh and his brother, The Prophet. In 1811, Tecumseh visited the Southern Indians to drum up support for the Western Indian Confederacy. He invited the Choctaws and Chickasaws to join him in a pan-Indian union designed to roll back American expansion and recapture sacred powers.[13] These powers would be used to rejuvenate Native society by ending dependence on trade goods, curbing alcoholism, and ameliorating other ills. In September 1811, Tecumseh visited Tuckabatchee, where he essentially repeated that message and called on the Creeks to destroy the Americans and kill any and all accommodationist chiefs as a means towards revitalizing Creek society.[14] Tecumseh may have encouraged them to await reinforcements from the British, with whom Tecumseh forged an alliance in 1811 and early 1812.[15] In sum, Tecumseh envisioned for the Creeks a future in which poverty, dependence, and hunger vanished.[16]

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[13] H. S. Halbert and T. H. Ball, *The Creek War of 1813 and 1814*, ed. Frank L. Owsley, Jr. (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1995), 40-84.

[14] For his war message, see Benjamin Hawkins to William Eustis, 1/13/1812, Creek Agency, in *Letters, Journals and Writings of Benjamin Hawkins*, ed. C. L. Grant (Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, 1980), 2:601 (hereafter cited as LBH). "Tustunnuggee Hopoie of Tookaubatche" apprised Hawkins of Tecumseh's meeting; he was a "young man, but of high rank and standing among [*sic*?] and is one of the Chiefs who administers the Executive functions of their government" (601).

[15] See Hawkins to David B. Mitchell, 6/24/1813, Capt. Carr's near Fort Hawkins, LBH, 2:642. Hawkins wrote: "One of the prophets was with me yesterday and said the Alabama prophet had begin [*sic*] prematurely, they were to go on with their magic until Tecumseh arrived who was to put the plan into motion and he would come when his friends the British were ready for him" (642).

[16] According to a Tuckabatchee headman, Tecumseh and The Prophet were "both men of Tookaubatche, born there and who left there about 20 years past. There were three of them, [but] one is dead"; see Hawkins to Eustis, 1/13/1812, Creek Agency in *LBH*, 2:601. Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, 178, challenges the notion that the "negative experiences" or "deprivation" of a Native culture experiencing incredible stress gave birth to revitalization. Rather, he argues that

From September 1811 to the spring of 1812, Tecumseh's war message divided Creeks into two camps. In the first camp were those headmen who pursued diplomacy with Hawkins. According to the Agent, the "Chiefs . . . unanimously refused to smoke the [war] pipe . . . [and] to join in [Tecumseh's] war."[17] In late March 1812, "some Chiefs of every town of the Upper Creeks" gathered at Fort Hawkins on the Okmulgee River to collect the 1811 annuity. Afterwards, Big Warrior and "three distinguished Chiefs" traveled with Hawkins to Augusta, the Georgia capital. There, the headmen cultivated peace with Georgia Governor David Mitchell.[18] Lower Creek headmen also promoted peace with Hawkins. In May 1812, Hawkins attended "the Council of the Lower Creeks," where the Cherokee headman Charles Hicks addressed the headmen. Referring to the outbreak of the War of 1812, Hicks urged the headmen to stand by the U.S. and reject any overtures from the British and Tecumseh. Headmen pledged "not to interfere in the wars of the white people." However, the headmen "complained" to Hawkins of "intrusions on their rights." American settlers had illegally hunted on, driven livestock onto, and harvested lumber from Creek lands. Settlers had also cultivated farms on the "Indian side" of the Okmulgee River, the U.S.-Creek boundary established in 1805. By requesting Hawkins to address their grievances, Lower Creek headmen demonstrated that they preferred U.S.-Creek diplomacy to a U.S.-Creek war.[19]

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revitalization resulted from the "positive experiences, visions, and hopes" of Creeks, aided by Tecumseh.

[17] Hawkins to Eustis, 9/21/1811, Tuckabatchee, LBH, 2:591.

[18] Hawkins to Eustis, 3/24/1812, Fort Hawkins, LBH, 2:603. For the trip, see Hawkins to Eustis, 3/30/1812, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:604. On March 30, the four headmen and the Agent returned to Creek country by way of the Creek Agency on the Flint River.

[19] Hawkins to Eustis, 5/11/1812, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:608.

In the second camp were the "young ungovernable" Creek warriors who defied the headmen (and Hawkins).[20] As the War of 1812 loomed and some Creeks accepted Tecumseh's call to arms, especially given the promise that Britain would assist Tecumseh and his allies, Creek warriors began to assault the Americans. In the spring of 1812, Creeks killed American settlers on the Federal Road, and in April a war leader named Hillabee Hadjo commanded a war party that killed two Tennessee families living near the Ohio River. Despite Big Warrior's claim in late March that the "Chiefs ... put a stop" to the bad "talks," in June, when the War of 1812 erupted, Little Warrior of Wewocau headed a group of warriors who killed several Americans and captured one woman, a Mrs. Crawley, also near the Ohio River.[21] In short, young Creek warriors, many of them probably disgruntled young men who could not supply their families with trade goods, embraced Tecumseh's message of renewal.[22]

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[20] Hawkins to Eustis, 5/11/1812, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:608 ("young").

[21] For Creek attacks on Americans, see Waselkov, *Conquering Spirit*, 88-89; Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 97, 203n36, 203n40. For Little Warrior's town, see Big Warrior and Alexander Cornells to Hawkins, 4/26/1813, Tuckabatchee, in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, ed. Walter Lowrie and Matthew St. Clair Clarke (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1832), 1:843 (hereafter cited as ASPIA, volume 1, page number); and Cornells to Hawkins, 6/22/1813, Creek Agency, ASPIA, 1:846. For Big Warrior's message to Hawkins, see Hawkins to Eustis, 3/30/1812, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:604 ("Chiefs" and "talks").

[22] Scholars have identified other possible causes of the Redstick War. Waselkov (*Conquering Spirit*, 79-80) traces the immediate origins of the war to two phenomena. In late August 1811, a comet became visible in the twilight sky, coinciding with Tecumseh's entrance into Creek country. Secondly, between December 1811 and February 1812, earthquakes emanating from New Madrid, Missouri, rumbled across the Midwest and possibly reached Creek country. Waselkov argues that the Alabama and Koasati towns interpreted these phenomena as a sign that Tecumseh and the Prophet possessed the spiritual powers of the Master of Breath, which would aid the Creeks in a struggle against American colonialism. Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, 114-115, traces the impact of the earthquakes on Shawnee-Creek relations. While Gregory Evans Dowd, in "Thinking Outside the Circle: Tecumseh's 1811 Mission," in *Tohopeka*, ed. Braund, 30-52, here 39, makes the point that Hawkins, an informed authority in Creek country, neglected to mention the New Madrid earthquakes in his writings, Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, 212n2, 212n3, locates evidence on the earthquakes from reliable authorities. For more on rumors in the Redstick

To prevent an all-out war between the Creeks and Americans, the National Council assumed tremendous power in 1812. When Hawkins demanded that the Council execute the 1812 ringleaders, Big Warrior and other headmen agreed to do so. Although the responsibility for punishing wayward kin lay with clans, the Council ignored clan justice by appointing a judicial police force that executed Hillabee Hadjo and another Creek warrior in the summer of 1812.[23] In the spring of 1813 Little Warrior of Wewocau and his men resumed their attacks on American settlements in the Ohio. Moreover, in late March or early April, two Okfuskee men killed two American travelers on the Federal Road. In response to another demand by Hawkins that the Creeks execute the murderers, the Council reassembled its police force and executed the Okfuskee culprits as well as Little Warrior. The police squad also executed a Creek woman, an "aunt," because she had protected her "nephew" in previous months from being executed for his role in some of the murders of 1812. By assuming the power to punish Creek criminals in 1812 and 1813, the Council deprived clans of that traditional prerogative and, as Evan Nooe demonstrates, undermined "clan and town autonomy."[24]

War and in early American history more generally, see Dowd, *Groundless: Rumors, Legends, and Hoaxes on the Early American Frontier* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), especially 205-227.

[23] Nooe, "Common Justice," 252-253. These two men had taken refuge inside the peace towns of Hickory Ground and Tallassee, where criminals were traditionally granted asylum. By killing them in a peace town, the police force violated sacred town custom and bolstered the Redsticks' argument that the Council pandered to Hawkins. The police squad also denied Hillabee Hadjo's family the custom of burial and last rites by dumping his corpse into the Coosa River (252-254). See, too, Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, 125; Waselkov, *Conquering Spirit*, 88-89; Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 100-101.

[24] Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 100-101; Nooe, "Common Justice," 252 ("clan"), 255. For "aunt" and "nephew," see Big Warrior, Alexander Cornells, and William McIntosh to Hawkins, 4/26/1813, Tuckabatchee, ASPIA, 1:841. The Okfuskee attackers may have been pursuing clan

In the spring and summer of 1813, the Redstick War erupted. In the following months, perhaps thousands of Upper Creeks flocked to a cadre of Upper Creek Redstick prophets. Other Upper and Lower Creeks stood behind the Council or, simply, strove for neutrality. The Redstick prophets included Peter McQueen of Halfway House, Josiah Francis of the Alabama town of Attaugee, and another Alabama, Paddy Walsh. Although more of a political organizer than a prophet, Tame King of Halfway House earned the title, "head of the Prophet's party."[25] The prophets vowed to execute anyone who had participated in or authorized the executions of 1812 and 1813. These included Alexander Cornells, a *métis* headman from Tuckabatchee who served Hawkins as an interpreter; Big Warrior; Hawkins; and "the old chiefs who had taken" Hawkins' "talks."[26] In fact, from late spring to early summer, the prophets "put to death" nine Creek warriors who had served in the Council police force.[27] The prophets reserved particular animus for Captain Sam Isaacs, a former prophet who supported the Council and led a war party that resulted in the death of the Creek "aunt." Fortunately for him, Isaacs survived a Redstick attack on his home.[28]

Furthermore, the prophets instructed followers to assault, kill, or expel those town headmen who accepted the Council's authority or who at least tolerated Hawkins. In the

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vengeance as a response to American attacks on the Okfuskees at "'Hog mountain'" in 1812; see Hawkins to Mitchell, 8/31/1812, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:616.

[25] Hawkins to Armstrong, 7/20/1813, Creek Agency, ASPIA, 1:849. In this document, Tame King is named "Hoboheilthle Micco, the head of the Prophet's party."

[26] Cornells to Hawkins, 6/22/1813, Creek Agency, ASPIA, 1:846.

[27] Hawkins "*To Creek Chiefs who have taken the talks of the prophets*," 7/6/1813, enclosed in Hawkins to Armstrong, 7/13/1813, both at Creek Agency, LBH, 2:647.

[28] Hawkins to Armstrong, 6/22/1813, near Fort Hawkins, LBH, 2:641. In Cornells' report to Hawkins, 6/22/1813, Creek Agency, ASPIA, 1:846, Cornells never actually wrote that Isaacs was killed. See, too, Nooe, "Common Justice," 255.

summer of 1813, for instance, Okfuskee Redsticks "killed five [town] Chiefs." Northwest of Okfuskee, Aubecooche Redsticks killed three of their town headmen and injured a fourth.[29] Among the Tallapoosas, Autossee Redsticks had "driven off their Chiefs" by June.[30] In addition to assailing headmen, young Redsticks attacked headmen's wealth, which smacked of Euro-American cultural innovation. After the Okfuskees killed their headmen, they "destroyed almost all the cattle in town."[31] In numerous other examples, Redstick men killed cattle, hogs, and other domesticated animals.[32]

As internal violence crescendoed in the summer of 1813, Creeks activated the old coalition network. Non-aligned headmen addressed the civil strife by leveraging two inter-town coalitions forged in the late eighteenth century. First was the Cussita-Tallassee/Halfway House alliance. In the midst of the American Revolution, Tame King cultivated ties with Fat King of Cussita. These headmen coordinated numerous diplomatic overtures to the Americans and worked together to grow their coalition.[33] The Redstick War, however, placed Cussita and Halfway House on opposing sides. The Cussitas aligned with the Council, while Tame King, by now an old headman, with Peter McQueen embraced the Redstick cause. Tame King harbored animosity towards the Council because in the spring of 1812, its police force had executed one of the

[29] For Okfuskee and Aubecooche, see Hawkins to John Armstrong, 7/28/1813, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:651-652.

[30] Hawkins to Armstrong, 6/28/1813, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:643.

[31] Hawkins to Armstrong, 7/28/1813, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:652.

[32] Saunt, *New Order*, 257-258, 257n40.

[33] For a thorough discussion of the Cussita-Tallassee coalition in the 1770s and 1780s, please see Chapter IV of this dissertation.

ringleaders inside his old town of Tallassee, a sacred white town that granted asylum to fleeing criminals.[34] The Council's violation of sacred town traditions convinced Tame King and McQueen that neither the Council nor Big Warrior could be trusted. Even so, lines of communication between Cussita and Halfway House remained open during the summer of 1813, demonstrating that the division separating Redsticks from non-aligned Creeks was impermanent, albeit temporarily.[35]

The second town partnership that came into play was that of Cussita and Tuckabatchee. During the Revolutionary period, Fat King and Mad Dog rarely communicated. Mad Dog's primary allies were Emistisiguo, Alexander McGillivray, and Red Shoes of Coosada. By the early 1790s, however, frontier conflict and the Creek-Chickasaw War thrust Cussita and Tuckabatchee into the political spotlight. Together, they framed the Three Rivers Resolution. Like Cussita's relationship with Tame King, Cussita's ties with Tuckabatchee endured in the 1810s. In fact, Big Warrior may have attempted to resolve the Redstick War and restore the Council's credibility to boot by manipulating the connections between Cussita and Halfway House. He and Cornells coordinated peace-keeping activities with Cussita and Coweta headmen in the attempt to persuade Tame King to ditch the Redsticks.[36]

Tame King activated the Cussita-Tallassee partnership in late May or early June 1813. At that time, he authored and "sent" a message to Cussita on behalf of the Alabama prophets. In it, he downplayed the fact that the prophets and their followers had

[34] Nooe, "Common Justice," 252-253.
[35] Cornells to Hawkins, 6/22/1813 and 6/23/1813, Creek Agency, ASPIA, 1:846.
[36] "Talosee Fixico" to Hawkins (Cornells served as interpreter), 7/5/1813, Creek Agency, ASPIA, 1:847.

killed several members of the Council's police squad. He explained that otherworldly powers, not the prophets, caused those deaths. When, for instance, the Council warriors had entered a magical "circle," they had been "immediately seized with madness, and died." Although Tame King's message reveals the ways in which prophets rely on magic to effect change during a revitalization movement, the point to emphasize here is that Tame King communicated this spiritual account to an old ally, Cussita. Tame King was doing one of two things. Either he attempted to persuade Cussita to join the Redsticks, or he encouraged the town to serve as an intermediary between the Redsticks and Council. It is hard to know either way, but one thing is clear: by contacting Cussita, he navigated his decades-old alliance with Cussita for larger purposes. Clearly the boundary between Redstick and non-aligned Creek was porous, as there was always room for maneuver and shifts in popular opinion.[37]

The continuation of the Cussita-Halfway House alliance also makes it difficult to ascertain Cussita's motives. Alexander Cornells' June 22 report to Hawkins suggests that Cussita at least sympathized with the Redstick cause. Just days before the 22nd, for example, Cornells traveled to Cussita. When he arrived there, he noticed that the townspeople were "consulting in the woods; and, instead of aiding to suppress the prophets, seemed willing to apologize for" the "conduct" of the prophets. More revealing still is that not only did Cussita receive Tame King's message that he explicitly sent to Cussita, but that Tame King "directed the Cussetah Micco to send it to all" the towns

[37] Cornells to Hawkins, 6/22/1813, Creek Agency, ASPIA, 1:846. One man whom the prophets executed was a "distinguished" Council messenger known as "Tustunnuggee Hopoie, of Tuckaubatchee."

"below" Cussita, meaning probably the Lower Creek towns—Tame King's allies during the American Revolution. Cornells confirmed to Hawkins that Cussita Mico did transmit Tame King's talk to the unidentified Lower towns.[38] Cussita may have relayed that talk to the Chattahoochee towns in the attempt to explain (away) Redstick violence and, perhaps, to restore peace to the Creek universe. On the other hand, Cussita Mico might have warmed to the Redstick cause and leveraged Tame King's talk to recruit some of the Lower towns into the Redstick fold.

Regardless, Cussita's exchange with Tame King indicates that political consensus endured during the Redstick War. Towns and the ties linking them formed the epicenter of action during this conflict. Whether Cussita Mico supported or rejected the Redsticks is unclear, but evidence does confirm that he refused to actively undermine them. In June, for instance, the Tuckabatchees learned that the Redsticks planned to besiege their town and kill all the Council headmen there. Sometime in mid-June, "Tuskeenohau" of Cussita left for Tuckabatchee "with his warriors" to assist the town against the Redstick assault. Cussita Mico, however, refused to contribute warriors to Tuckabatchee "to help the [Council] chiefs" there. Because of that decision, Tuskeenohau "reprimanded the [Cussita] Micco for his pusillanimous conduct."[39] Cussita Mico's lukewarm commitment to the Council suggests that he strove to avoid an escalation in the violence between the non-aligned towns and the Redsticks, among whom he had several political allies.

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[38] Cornells to Hawkins, 6/22/1813, Creek Agency, ASPIA, 1:846. Cornells was "ordered" by the "chiefs of Tuckaubatchee" to go to Cussita. I haven't pinpointed the date when Cornells left for the Lower Creeks or when he arrived in Cussita. Certainly, by June 22, when Cornells wrote this letter, his meeting with Cussita had taken place.

[39] Cornells to Hawkins, 6/23/1813, Creek Agency, ASPIA, 1:846.

Cussita Mico's non-military stance may have inspired the Council and particularly Big Warrior of Tuckabatchee to open a dialogue with the Redsticks in late June and early July. To that end, he leveraged the connection between Cussita and Tame King and that between Cussita and Tuckabatchee. Probably at his urging, the Council appointed Tuskeenohau of Cussita and "Atchau Haujo" of Coweta to meet with Tame King in Halfway House sometime in early July. There, the two emissaries tried "to induce" Tame King "to have the war sticks and projects thrown aside." Tame King was unrelenting, however, and "the old man [Tame King] rejected" the peace overtures. He "declared his determination to persevere until he destroyed all who aided and assisted" in the Council police squad and "looked on [the squad] as people of the United States." Moreover, Tame King and the Redsticks planned to evict settlers from Creek country and push them back to the "sea coast." Aided by the Shawnees, the British, and the "magic powers he possessed," Tame King sought "to crush the Americans."[40] Big Warrior's effort to rein in Tame King by navigating the complex corridors of town ties was therefore fruitless. Still, that effort reveals that Big Warrior, like his sworn enemy, Tame King, relied on traditional political connections to pursue his goals.

Despite severe political divisions, Creeks on both sides of the aisle negotiated the town- and kin-based connections that knitted Creek society together. When Tame King tried to enlist Cussita (for war or as a go-between) or when Big Warrior sought to

[40] "Talosee Fixico, a runner from Tuckaubatchee" to Hawkins (Cornells served as interpreter), 7/5/1813, Creek Agency, ASPIA, 1:847. Even Hawkins recognized that communication with the Redsticks could be established with Cussita's help; see Hawkins "*To Creek Chiefs who have taken the talks of the prophets*," 7/6/1813, enclosed in Hawkins to Armstrong, 7/13/1813, both at Creek Agency, LBH, 2:647.

manipulate Cussita's alliance with Tame King, town partnership mediated each goal. By overlooking the connections between the Redsticks and non-aligned Creeks and the attempt by the Council to restore order, scholars miss the ways in which the overlapping political webs of Creek society complicated loyalties during this civil war. Although stability dwindled, partnerships endured the early stages of war.[41]

In turn, these complex webs of political relations may have encouraged conflict-resolution. Not only did Cussita Mico's position of non-engagement shape the Council's decision to meet with Tame King, it may have signaled a larger cultural attitude among Creeks that civil war was to be avoided at all costs. Throughout the late spring and summer of 1813, Creeks ignored Hawkins' repeated calls to fight the Redsticks. A frustrated Hawkins wrote in early July that "I have advised the Council *repeatedly* to send out a party to attack and destroy the prophets without delay[,] but *they seem not equal* in their present state of alarm and confusion to such an enterprise" (my emphasis).[42] Granted, as Hawkins penned his lament to the Georgia Governor, Tuckabatchee was under siege. For one week, the Redsticks surrounded the town and gunned for Big Warrior and a "son" of the late Mad Dog. Thirteen Redsticks perished, and only one Tuckabatchee was wounded.[43] Still, even before the Tuckabatchee siege,

[41] See, for instance, Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, 150. Martin tends to lump the "friendly" Creeks against the Redstick "faction," terms that more or less obscure the political realities on the ground (150).

[42] Hawkins to Mitchell, 7/7/1813, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:644.

[43] The Tuckabatchees had fortified their town, and hundreds of men, women, and children were holed up in the town fort. As many as 320 Redsticks under the command of Autossee's "Youholau Emaultau Haujo" besieged the town. For details, see Hawkins to Armstrong, 7/28/1813, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:651; Hawkins to Mitchell, 7/7/1813, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:644; Hawkins to Mitchell, 7/22/1813, "Capt. Carr's," LBH, 2:648.

the non-aligned Creeks appeared uninterested in waging war on the Redsticks.[44] When Cornells apprised Hawkins that "Seven of the [towns] nearest [to Tuckabatchee] refused to oppose the prophets," he was saying that the Tallapoosa towns neither necessarily supported the Redsticks nor possessed any reason to fight them.[45]

Additionally, Cornells reported to the Agent that Creek towns that had "taken" the prophets' "talks" exercised restraint and revealed no inclination to attack the Council or the Americans. These particular Creek towns were more interested in dancing the Dance of the Indians of the Lakes, a ritual that originated among the Western Indian Confederacy. In 1812 and 1813, Shawnees affiliated with the Prophet taught the Dance to the Creeks. It promised to alleviate suffering in Creek society by enabling Creeks to capture new sources of sacred power. Cornells explained to Hawkins that no Creek town that danced the new Dance during the summer of 1813 "has moved to assist them [the Redsticks]." In short, some Creek towns welcomed the spiritual innovations furnished by Shawnee revitalizers but disregarded the more militant tone of the Redstick prophets.[46]

At least some Creeks' reluctance to oppose, attack, or support the Redsticks suggests that the town- and kin- based political connections spanning Creek society encouraged neutrality and the deescalation of violence. One of the best pieces of evidence bearing on this argument is Cornells' statement that "Seven of the [towns] nearest [to Tuckabatchee] refused to oppose the prophets."[47] A refusal to "oppose" the

[44] Hawkins to Mitchell, 7/7/1813, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:644.
[45] Cornells to Hawkins, 6/22/1813, Creek Agency, ASPIA, 1:846.
[46] Cornells to Hawkins, 6/22/1813, Creek Agency, ASPIA, 1:846.
[47] Cornells to Hawkins, 6/22/1813, Creek Agency, ASPIA, 1:846. As Steven Hahn argues, at least in the colonial period the Creeks probably instituted measures to suppress

prophets did not necessarily mean that the seven towns supported the Redsticks. In fact, these towns pursued their own interests, but by residing on the fence during a civil war, they adopted a dangerous stance, as Creek townspeople probably understood. Neutrality invited a Redstick attack or possible disapproval from Agent Hawkins, who tended to group Creeks into an either-or category of "Redstick" or "friendly."[48]

Meanwhile, the Redsticks planned an attack on Coweta after having failed to destroy Tuckabatchee. Like Tuckabatchee, Coweta occasionally hosted the National Council, which remained enemy number one of the Redsticks.[49] But they needed more weapons and ammunition to carry out the task. To that end, in July 1813 Peter McQueen and other prophets traveled to Pensacola with about 300 Redsticks (Figure 16). Governor González Manrique hosted the delegation. McQueen invited Manrique to form an alliance with the Redsticks, requesting guns, shot, and powder from the Spanish. On the 23rd, Manrique gave the Redsticks powder and shot, but refused to provide them with guns, repair the guns they brought with them, or commit to a Redstick alliance. Manrique's lukewarm response stemmed from the fact that McQueen had no leverage. Given his steep debt to Forbes and Company, the prophet was unable to convince Manrique that a Spanish-Redstick alliance was in Spain's best interest. McQueen's

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"internal violence" (civil war); Hahn, *Invention*, 147. Similarly, in "A Peace-like People: Southern Indians Choose Peace in the Midst of War," (paper presented at Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL, 9/12/2014), Greg O'Brien argues that the Southern Indians strove for diplomacy whenever they could. For ethnohistories that address Native peace-keeping traditions, see Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 289; and LeMaster, *Brothers Born of One Mother*, 3-12, 15-50.

[48] See, for example, Hawkins to Armstrong, 7/28/1813, Creek Agency, LBH 2:652.

[49] As early as June 1813, the prophets planned to attack Coweta (and Tuckabatchee, where the Redsticks failed to kill Big Warrior in early July 1813). See Cornells to Hawkins, 6/22/1813, Creek Agency, ASPIA, 1:846.

failure to secure adequate provisions caused most of his men to return home before the meeting closed. Only about sixty of the original three hundred Redsticks who traveled to Pensacola remained.[50]

[50] For a trader's report, see John Innerarity to James Innerarity, 7/27/1813, Pensacola, enclosed in Brigadier General Ferdinand L. Claiborne (of the Louisiana and Mississippi Territory Volunteers) to the Governor of Georgia, 8/14/1813, PLC, reel 19, pp. 249-256. Elizabeth Howard West edited and translated parts of the enclosure. For context of the Pensacola meeting, see Collins, "'A Packet from Canada,'" 63, 68-69; Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, 150-152.

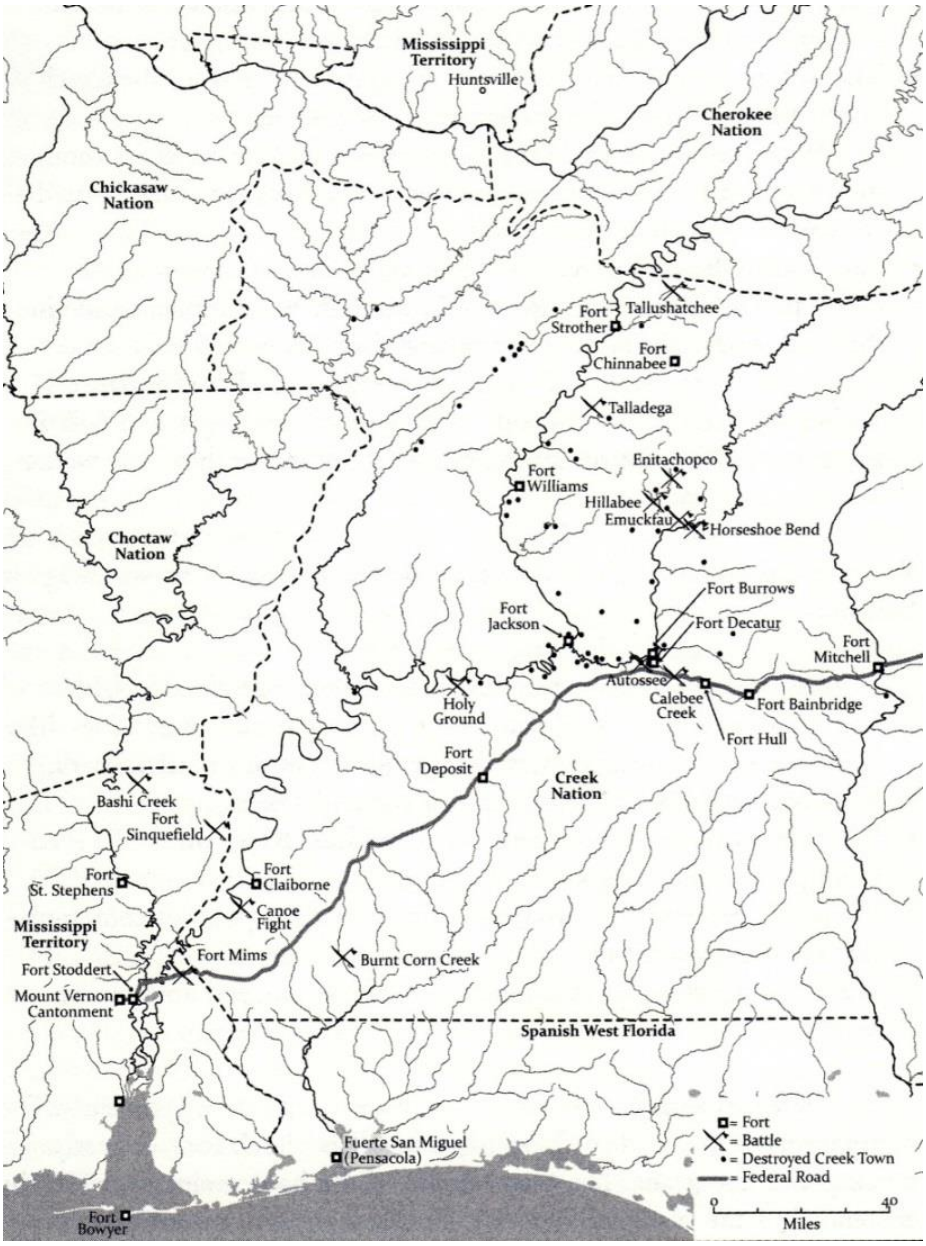

Figure 16. Battlefields and Forts of U.S.-Creek War, 1813-1814. A mishmash of peoples and cultures inhabited the "Tensaw" district or delta of the Mississippi Territory. *Source*: Photocopied from *Tohopeka: Rethinking the Creek War and the War of 1812*, edited by Kathryn E. Holland Braund, xiv.

On July 27, as McQueen and the sixty-or-so Redsticks traveled home, they were attacked by a militia unit. The unit was composed of 180 American and U.S.-allied Creek *métis* men from the nearby Tensaw district, which was part of the Mississippi Territory. In what became known as the Battle of Burnt Corn Creek, named after a nearby watercourse, the Redsticks killed about 100 militiamen.[51] At least six Redstick men perished and a "great many" were wounded in battle.[52] Since clan law required the victims' kin to seek revenge, the Redsticks persuaded their leaders to devise an attack on the Tensaw district and place the original plan to "destroy" Coweta on the backburner.[53] As Hawkins understood, Redstick leaders had "appointed . . . an attack on Coweta, but the families of the killed and wounded . . . forced the leaders to change the attack to" the Tensaw delta.[54] Aside from clan retribution, a second factor motivated the Redstick plan to attack that region. Many of the Tensaw *métis* were transplanted Alabama Creeks who had migrated to the lower Mississippi valley in the late eighteenth century and who adopted a slave-based market-oriented lifestyle there. In a way, as Gregory Waselkov has argued, the Redstick prophets, many of whom lived in the original Alabama towns in Creek country, looked upon the Tensaw *métis* as wayward Alabama kin who needed to be punished for embracing the new economic order.[55]

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[51] Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, 150-152.

[52] A Hoithlewaulee woman provided these figures; see Big Warrior to Hawkins, James Durouzeaux interpreting, 8/4/1813, "William McIntosh's," 9 P.M., ASPIA, 1:851.

[53] For the planned attack, see Cornells to Hawkins, 6/22/1813, Creek Agency, ASPIA, 1:846.

[54] Hawkins to John B. Floyd, 9/30/1813, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:668.

[55] This insightful point is developed in Waselkov, *Conquering Spirit*, 47-48, 55. The Creek Indian settlement in the Tensaw moved away from the "traditional" town plan of the "nucleated village with adjacent communal fields." Instead, plantations there were "dispersed very widely," with roaming livestock and abundant black slave labor. Moreover, no extant

Throughout August, a sixteen-town coalition of Redsticks crystallized in Upper Creek country (Table 7, Figure 17).[56] Thirteen towns supplied roughly 2,500 warriors to the Tensaw-bound war party. Most of these warriors hailed from the Abeika and Tallapoosa towns. Only three Alabama towns supplied warriors to the August coalition, suggesting, as Joel Martin points out, that although the Redstick movement initially formed among the Alabama towns, by August 1813 the Redsticks' popularity had blossomed beyond its original base.[57] However, I argue that in order to gain in popularity, the August coalition had to draw upon and realign the town partnerships established by Creeks in earlier decades.[58]

The Redstick coalition marked the restructuring of coalition-building from one that serviced Creek unity to one that precipitated Creek division. Hickory Ground and Tuckabatchee, close allies during the Revolution and in the early nineteenth century, now

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evidence demonstrates that this was a talwa since it had no mico, council, summer square ground, or winter council house. The Tensaw *métis* community resembled a talofa, a "daughter community of the Alabama talwas" (all quotes, p. 48).

[56] Hawkins to Floyd, 9/30/1813, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:668-669. Thirteen towns furnished warriors, namely Hoithlewaulee, Fusihatchee, Cooloome, Ecunhutke, Sawanogi, Muccolossus, "Alabama," Little Okchai, Hickory Ground, Wewocau, Pucantallahassee, Woccoccoie, and Pochusehatchee (668-669). Okfuskee, Tallassee, and Autossee supported did not contribute warriors to the Tensaw-destined war party. Three other Upper Creek towns "remained neuter," including Fish Ponds ("Thlotlogulgau"), Kialijee, and "Eufaula" (669). For corroboration of "13 towns" participating in the attack on Fort Mims, see Hawkins to Armstrong, 10/11/1813, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:672. A fourteenth town, however, may have been Fish Ponds. For two Fish Ponds men who were "in the fray at Burnt Corn" and who therefore may have decided to join the warriors in the upcoming Tensaw expedition, see Hawkins, "Extract," 8/16/1813, enclosed in Hawkins to Mitchell, 8/17/1813, LBH, 2:656. Town spellings taken from Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 82 (Ecunhutke), 88 (Woccoccoie, Pochusehatchee, and Pucantallahassee).

[57] Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, 134-135.

[58] Ross Hassig, "Internal Conflict in the Creek War of 1813-1814," *Ethnohistory* 21:3 (Summer 1974): 251-271, here 263. Hassig argues that age and town association, rather than clans or the red/white moiety division, shaped Creeks' decision to join (or eschew) the Redstick movement (263). I agree, but I trace how those decisions signaled change and continuity in town relationships over time.

became enemies. Whereas Hickory Ground embraced the Redsticks, Tuckabatchee avoided them. Moreover, the Cussita-Tallassee coalition of the Revolutionary era shifted, as Okfuskee, Tallassee, and Autossee broke with Cussita and aligned with the Redsticks. Hawkins wrote that those three towns "formed a front of observation towards Coweta, to conceal the movement" of the August 1813 Redstick warrior force. Cussita did not thrown in with its old coalition partners in 1813. Unlike Okfuskee, Tallassee, and Autossee, the Cussitas neither teamed up with Tame King nor any other Redstick town in the formation of the Redstick coalition. Thus, the Redstick coalition began to steel the political line separating Cussita from Tame King, old coalitions from new ones.[59]

[59] Hawkins to Floyd, 9/30/1813, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:669.

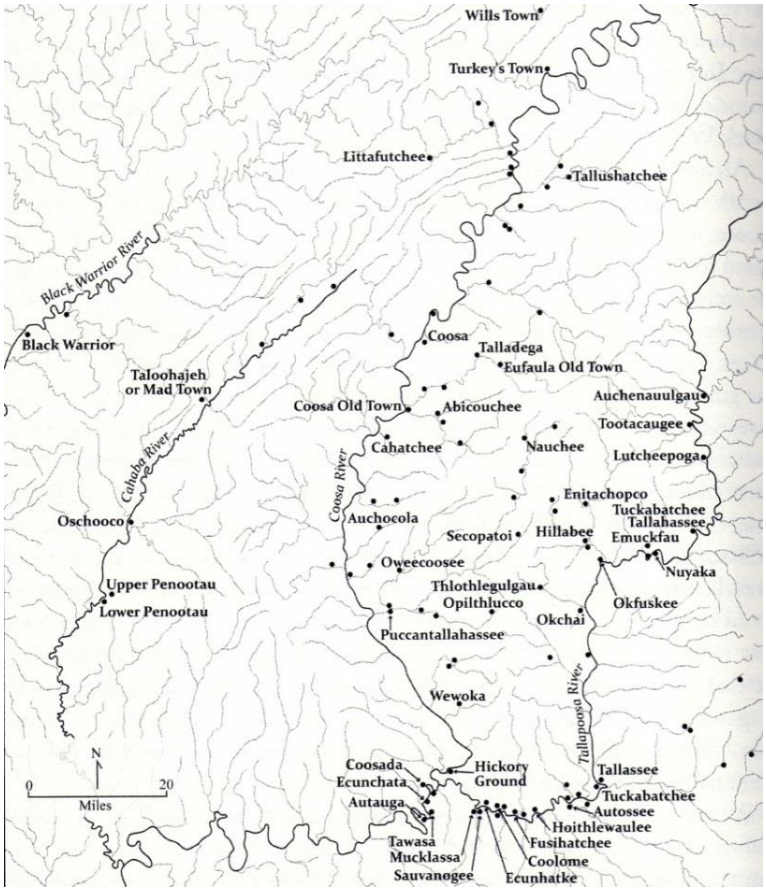

Figure 17. Upper Creek Towns in 1813. Note: Turkey's Town, also known as Esenaca, was a Cherokee town. *Source*: Photocopied from Craig T. Sheldon, Jr., "Archaeology, Geography, and the Creek War in Alabama," in *Tohopeka*, ed. Braund, 200-231, here 202 (figure 11.1).

The shift in inter-town connections that characterized the Redstick coalition was balanced by the endurance of consensual leadership. To cultivate solidarity, Redstick headmen obeyed the rituals of war. Generally, before war, Southern Indian warriors isolated themselves from their townspeople, prepared war medicine, and danced to capture spiritual powers. These powers were thought to protect warriors from harm in the upcoming battle. During the Redstick War and perhaps as part of their efforts to revive Native custom under the umbrella of revitalization, Redsticks followed these martial traditions. Just before the march on the Tensaw, according to one source, "leaders" summoned "their warriors at *every town separately* and held a war dance" (my emphasis). At the conclusion of each town's dance, warriors rendezvoused at a creek, where a "great war dance" was held by some 726 warriors of the thirteen confederated towns.[60] Coalition-building continued to rest on those leaders who respected local traditions.

Following the war dances, the Redsticks set off for the Tensaw where settlers had built a series of forts to defend themselves from a possible Redstick reprisal. En route, Redstick leaders learned that about 440 American settlers, militiamen, and U.S.-allied *métis* Creeks were holed up in Fort Mims. There, on August 30, the Redsticks launched an attack, which was led by Redstick tactician William Weatherford and prophet Paddy

[60] George Stiggins, "A Historical Narration of the Genealogy, Traditions and Downfall of the Ispocaga or Creek Tribe of Indians" (1958), ed. Theron A. Nunez, Jr., in *Creek Sourcebook*, ed. Sturtevant, 162. A *métis* of the Tensaw district, Stiggins was born to a Virginian father and a Natchez Indian woman. He was a Christian who disdained the Redstick prophets' mass following—or, as he wrote, the "foolish herd" (150). Stiggins wrote his narrative from 1831 to 1844, decades after the 1814 defeat of the Redsticks and during Indian Removal, so it must be used with caution (42). For Southern Indian warfare in the colonial period, see Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 239-257, 320-321, 356, and O'Brien, *Choctaws*, 27-49.

Walsh. After hours of fighting, the Redsticks defeated the Tensaw inhabitants and killed some 247 people inside the fort. Although technically a victory for the Redsticks, almost half (about 300) of the original force of 726 warriors perished.[61]

The casualties sustained by the Redsticks at the Battle of Fort Mims temporarily undermined prophetic power. That evening, the surviving warriors "rose in fury" against Walsh "for their loseing so many men by death and wounds." His ability to conjure sacred power to protect the men was discredited.[62] Moreover, the Abeika town of Wewocau may have bolted from the Redsticks. Perhaps as many as fifteen Wewocaus perished at Fort Mims, quite a large figure considering that Wewocau was a small town with a population of 170 people.[63] As a result, by mid-September, Wewocau as well as three other Upper towns denounced the prophets as "liars." In a message to the National Council, Wewocau and other towns said that they had "1,100 warriors" but were no longer "going to fight against the Americans."[64]

Wewocau's political shift took place in September, when the United States was preparing to avenge Fort Mims by invading Creek country. When Creeks learned this frightening news, they scrambled to forge a peace coalition that pledged its loyalty to the

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[61] Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, 156-157; Waselkov, *Conquering Spirit*, 127.

[62] Nunez, "Creek Nativism," 66.

[63] Hawkins to Armstrong, 10/11/1813, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:672. A "Wewacau Chief" informed a "Chief of the upper towns," who then told Hawkins, that fifteen Wewocaus perished and many were wounded at Fort Mims (672). For Wewocau's ("Wiyoke" of the "Cossa"/Coosa/Abeika division) population in 1793, see Pedro Olivier to Baron de Carondelet, 12/1/1793, "Old Town of Wetonka," in *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794, Part III: Problems of Frontier Defense, 1792-1794*, ed. Lawrence Kinnaird (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1946), 4:231 (hereafter cited as SMV).

[64] Hawkins to John Armstrong, 9/13/1813, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:660. The other three towns included Fish Ponds, Kialijee, and Okchai. It is unclear whether or not Okchai participated at Fort Mims. Also, the "prophets have recently killed two distinguished Chiefs of Wewocau."

Americans and the National Council. The coalition fused together about eleven towns: Coweta, Coweta Tallahassee, Cussita, Ouseechee, Aumucullee, Tuckabatchee, Fish Ponds, Kialijee, Upper Eufaula, Okchai, and of course, Wewocau.[65] These towns served the interests of peace and diplomacy in various ways. Some delivered messages between the Council and Hawkins, who lived at the Creek Agency on the Flint River. He reported in late September, for instance, that three Upper Eufaula men and three Kialijee men delivered to him a message from the national Speakers, Big Warrior of Tuckabatchee and Little Prince of Broken Arrow.[66]

For his part, "Hoboheilthle Haujo" of Fish Ponds strove to keep his townspeople out of harm's way. He sent a message to the Redsticks, explaining that while some of his "towns people" were "foolish," "they have not killed me, and other old Chiefs as many of you have done, and we are determined not to kill red or white people." He also indicted the prophets for their ineffectual mastery of spiritual power: "Your prophets said that in battle [i.e., Fort Mims] you would not [lose] more than two men if a severe battle, three at most [but] you have lost much blood by listening to them." To demonstrate to the Americans that his people preferred stability to conflict, Hoboheilthle Haujo forward that message to Hawkins.[67]

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[65] For "[Coweta?] Tallahassee," Coweta, Tuckabatchee, and Cussita, see Hawkins to David B. Mitchell, 9/6/1813, Creek Agency, LJW, 2:660 (these towns "fortified" themselves from the Redsticks). For Fish Ponds, Kialijee, and Eufaula, see Hawkins to Floyd, 9/30/1813, Creek Agency, in LJW, 2:669. For Ouseechee, Okchai, and Wewocau, see Hawkins to John Armstrong, 9/13/1813, Creek Agency, LJW, 2:660. For Aumucullee, see Hawkins to Mitchell, 9/7/1812, Creek Agency, LJW, 2:617. For Hitchiti, see Hawkins to Eustis, 11/9/1812, Creek Agency, *LJW*, 2:621.

[66] Hawkins to Floyd, 9/30/1813, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:669.

[67] The Fish Ponds headman's talk is in Hawkins to Floyd, 10/4/1813, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:670.

The Lower Creek wing of the peace coalition expressed its loyalty to the U.S. in several ways. In September, for instance, the Lower Creek town of Ouseechee hosted a meeting of the "Chiefs on Chattahochee and Flint river" who declared "themselves unanimously friendly to the white people."[68] Although identifying the exact towns that attended the Ouseechee meeting is impossible, some were probably drawn from the Hitchiti towns on the Chattahoochee and Flint watersheds. For one, the headmen of the Chehaw village of Aumucullee at one point pledged peace with Hawkins.[69] At another point, Aumucullee Mico reported to a U.S. official that he and his people "have large familyes" who wished to avoid any confrontation with the U.S.[70] Additionally, Hitchiti Town's Wolf Warrior strove to preserve neutrality between his townspeople and the U.S. He also worried about the fate of his fellow kin in Seminole country.[71]

Although the roots of the peace coalition lay in the immediate aftershock of Fort Mims, two pieces of evidence suggest that Creek women established the groundwork of that coalition in early August, just weeks before the Redsticks attacked Fort Mims. For

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[68] Hawkins to John Armstrong, 9/13/1813, Creek Agency, *LJW*, 2:660.

[69] The "Aumuculle[?] people [and] the hitchetaus [i.e., Hitchiti Town?]" were at peace with U.S. settlers. Quoted in "Timy" Barnard to "Mr. Mumford," 8/5/1814, Flint River, p. 1, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC682, *Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842*, Digital Library of Georgia, <http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu> (hereafter cited as SNAD).

[70] Timothy Barnard to Hawkins, 11/3/1814, Flint River, p. 1, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC683, SNAD. "Catchaw micko hatke of aumancule requested" Timpoochee Barnard to tell Hawkins that all the people in Aumucullee "take no part with the red Stiks but meain to hold the Americans there freinds by the hand" and "Join the Cowetaws there friends the red people." Although the Aumucullee sources hail from the postwar period, they suggest that these particular Hitchitis probably sought to protect their "familyes" during the war.

[71] Wolf Warrior communicated to Hawkins that "There is a great many of my family blood among" the Seminoles, some of whom may have supported the Redsticks; see Hawkins to Eustis, 11/9/1812, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:621. In Hawkins to Armstrong, 7/13/1813, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:646, "Wolf Warrior," Hawkins wrote, "is at the head of our Seminole towns. I sent to him and W. Kinnard [a Hitchiti] to go up to aid the [Creek] Chiefs with their council and they are gone."

instance, on August 4, Big Warrior messaged Hawkins to inform him that the Council received information from "a red woman of Hoithlewaulee." She came "straight from that town" to report on Redstick military strength, including some Redsticks who had recently arrived in her town with "two white men's scalps."[72] Her reasons for spying on the Redsticks stemmed from the unstable situation in her town. Hoithlewaulee had become a refugee center, where starving Redsticks, cut off from U.S. trade, settled in various "camps" around the town.[73] The Hoithlewaulee woman probably grew tired of eking out a tenuous existence in that town, prompting her to ally with Big Warrior to improve her future. A Creek woman from the nearby Tallapoosa town of Muccolossus acted as a Council informant, too. On August 14, a Creek husband named "Hoithleponiyau" informed Hawkins that "My wife at [Muccolossus] informed me she got a part of the [Redstick] plans from a near female relative of a leader of the prophets (Molton)," an Alabama headman.[74] Each example reveals the ways in which women sought to reduce civil strife on behalf of their families and towns.[75]

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[72] Big Warrior to Hawkins, James Durouzeaux interpreting, 8/4/1813, "William McIntosh's," 9 P.M., ASPIA, 1:851. The Hoithlewaulee woman was the wife of an American trader named Hardy Reed. An Indian countryman, Reed lived among the Creeks since the late eighteenth century. For Reed, see Hawkins' journal entry, 2/2/1797, LBH, 1:41; and Hawkins to Edward Price, 2/10/1797, Flint River, LBH, 1:67.

[73] For the Hoithlewaulee camps, see Waselkov and Wood, "Creek War," 16-17.

[74] From the "near" relative of his Muccolossus wife, Hoithleponiyau reported: "1st they were to put to death all who assisted the Chiefs to give satisfaction for the murders at Ohio. 2nd all the old Chiefs friendly to peace and those who refused to join the prophets, by this means to unite the nation in one opinion then wait for Tecumseh." See Hoithleponiyau to Hawkins, 8/14[?]/1813, location (?), enclosed in Hawkins to Mitchell, 8/17/1813, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:655 (additional quotes deleted).

[75] Michelle LeMaster, *Brothers Born of One Mother: British-Native American Relations in the Colonial Southeast* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 15-50. LeMaster writes that women "may have contributed to behind-the-scenes decision making" that cast men's diplomatic messages in a more peaceful light and that "emphasized women's roles as

Like the women, several men in the peace coalition served Hawkins and the Council as spies, runners, scouts, and other informants. In late 1813, a "runner" from Coweta disclosed Redstick movements to Hawkins, as did the Hitchiti headman Wolf Warrior and Lower Eufaula headman "Fullaupau Haujo."[76] Later, in February 1814, forty to fifty warriors from Upatoi, Cussita's satellite village, may have tracked the movements of some Redstick-allied Lower Creeks.[77] Likewise, some runners earned cash for their services, such as "Cussetuh John," "Adam Uchee," "Tomoho Holohtau," "Two Indians," Coweta's "public runner," and an unnamed "runner." At least one messenger, Cussita John, may have had kin ties to Aumucullee, a town allied to the Council and to whom he passed along sensitive information.[78]

The Redstick and peace coalitions illuminate the ways in which coalition-building practices had amplified the fragmentation of Creek society by late 1813. The Redsticks attacked the Americans and objected to Council leadership by uniting Upper Creek towns in the Tensaw expeditionary force. When the U.S. planned to invade Creek country a

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mothers and always concerned matters of peace" (35). See, too, Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), 264-269; John R. Swanton, *Creek Religion and Medicine* (1928; repr., Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 528, 597-598, 614. For women's roles in funerary and mourning rites, see James Adair, *The History of the American Indians*, ed. Kathryn E. Holland Braund (1775; repr., Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 210-212.

[76] Hawkins to Peter Early, 11/22/1813, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:676 (Coweta "runner"); Hawkins to Armstrong, 7/13/1813, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:646 (Wolf Warrior); and "*Report of Supplies* ...," 6/14/1814, Creek Agency, enclosed in Hawkins to Early, 6/15/1814, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:683-684 (Wolf Warrior and "Fullaupau Haujo[,] Chief of [Lower] Eufaula").

[77] Hawkins to Kendal Lewis, 2/16/1814, near Fort Mitchell, LBH, 2:678. Upatoi is identified as "Auputtanee" (678). The Upatoi warriors tracked the "Uchees [Yuchis]" and those from "Tuttallossee Ulgee," or Tuttallosee, a village of Hitchiti Town (678).

[78] "Estimate of expenditure in the Creek Department of Indian Affairs," for 1815, enclosed in Hawkins to William H. Crawford, 2/22/1816, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:775-776. Although the scouts and runners identified in this document served Hawkins in 1815, they possibly did so before then, too.

month after Fort Mims, the non-aligned Creeks responded by forging a peace coalition that disputed the Redsticks and favored peace with the U.S.

Unfortunately, the U.S. military and state militias ignored the peace coalition. Seeking to avenge the Anglo-American deaths at Fort Mims and to implement larger imperialistic goals, the U.S. declared war on the Creeks in September 1813. Although only a small portion of Creeks fought in the Battle of Fort Mims, Southern planters and politicians used that battle to justify invading Creek society, expelling the Creeks from their lands, and transforming the South into a slave-based economy, free of indigenous people. "Remember Fort Mims" became America's rallying cry. It served as a propaganda piece that blamed all Creeks for the Redsticks' actions, and inflated the number of people killed inside the fort from the accurate figure (about 147) to 400 or more. Americans prepared for war throughout the fall of 1813, when Tennessee, Georgia, and Mississippi Territory readied their troops. For his part, Major General Andrew Jackson, commander of U.S. forces, led the Tennessee regiment.[79]

Federal and state military forces invaded Upper Creek country with unimaginable ferocity. There, from September 1813 to May 3, 1814, they destroyed forty-three towns and villages as well as more than 1,000 houses. Twelve additional towns and talofas were abandoned between August 1813 and July 1814. Hundreds perished in a "total war" that looked more like absolute conquest than mere punishment for Fort Mims. Creeks perished in several lopsided battles that resulted in the massacre of Creek towns.

[79] Waselkov and Wood, "Creek War," 6 (September); Martin, *Sacred Revolt,* 151-152, 158; Waselkov, *Conquering Spirit,* 96.

Death, famine, poverty, and dislocation became staples of Creek society.[80] The first "major battle and victory" for the U.S. took place in Tullushatchee on November 3, 1813. There, U.S. forces under General John Coffee killed all of the town's Redsticks. Days later the Hillabees, who were in the midst of arbitrating a peace with Jackson, were inexplicably mowed down in the Hillabee Massacre.[81] Months later, on March 27, 1814, Jackson led a force of fifteen hundred Americans, five hundred Cherokees, and about one hundred U.S.-allied Creeks against a Redstick fortification on the upper Tallapoosa River known as Tohopeka ("Horseshoe Bend"). Some eight hundred Redstick men lost their lives at the Battle of Tohopeka. Despite the Redstick defeat, American forces obliterated twenty-one additional towns and talofas in several clean-up operations between April 11 and May 3.[82] For the next several months, some 8,200 Creek refugees requested rations at the Creek Agency and at U.S. forts posted around Creek country.[83] American military power, coupled with an imperialistic ideology, left Upper Creek country in ruins.

Basking in the glow of victory, Jackson wrestled from the Creeks one of the largest land cessions in American history. On August 9, 1814, Jackson and other military authorities cajoled Creek headmen, many of whom had been his allies during the war, into signing/touching pen to the Treaty of Fort Jackson. The treaty began: "WHEREAS

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[80] Waselkov and Wood, "Creek War," 10 ("total war"), 12-14 (Table 1.), 20. In one day alone, on November 29, 1813, 400 houses were destroyed: 200 in Autossee and 200 in a refugee town "adjoining" it. A month later, 200 were razed in the refugee town of Holy Ground (Ecunchate) (see Table 1., p. 12). Although Waselkov and Wood's study is dated, it remains the most important archaeological study of Creek towns in the Redstick Era. For massacres, see Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, 158-163.

[81] Thrower, "Causalities," in *Tohopeka*, ed. Braund, 22-23.

[82] Waselkov and Wood, "Creek War," 13; for Tohopeka casualties, see Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, 162-163. 350 Creek women and children were captured at Tohopeka.

[83] Waselkov and Wood, "Creek War," 10, 15.

an unprovoked, inhuman, and sanguinary war, waged by the hostile Creeks against the United States, hath been repelled ... successfully [by] the said States, in conformity with principles of national justice and honorable warfare...." Essentially, the treaty blamed all Creeks for the Battle of Fort Mims, justified America's disproportionate military response, and coolly ignored the destruction of Upper Creek country. Admitting that the Creeks' defeat amounted to a "conquest," the treaty required the Indians to relinquish about twenty-three million acres of Creek (and Cherokee) hunting lands to the U.S. These lands comprised about half of modern Alabama and sections of southern Georgia and north Florida. This treaty unequivocally established America's suzerainty over the Creeks.[84]

Jackson and other officials misled the Creeks about the exact size of the land cession. Days before the signing, Hawkins did not clearly explain the "line of conquest," which encompassed Lower and Upper Creek hunting grounds.[85] Months later, when the Creeks realized that two-thirds of the Creek domain had been ceded, they contested the cession. In a Council meeting, Big Warrior complained to Hawkins that Jackson had pressed the Creeks for a land cession during the war and ignored Big Warrior's counsel to allow the Creeks to discuss the issue "in our own minds." Moreover, he alleged that

[84] Fort Jackson was located at the convergence of the Coosa, Tallapoosa, and Alabama Rivers. Treaty with the Creeks, 1814, in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, ed. Kappler, 2:107, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol2/treaties/cre0107.htm (accessed May 21, 2015). For hunting lands and precise boundaries of cession, see Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 116 (Map 3), 117. Most signers were likely unaware that they had relinquished a huge tract of land.

[85] Hawkins to Jackson, 8/6/1814, Fort Jackson, LBH, 2:691-693, 692 ("line").

the "whole nation did not meet together to hear the treaty"; nor was the treaty conducted in the proper space of "a town house" but, rather, "in the woods."[86]

The Treaty of Fort Jackson expanded freedom for Anglo-Americans, deepened the South's commitment to African American slavery, and diminished the rights and livelihood of Indian people. By forcing the Creeks to cede a gargantuan tract of land, the treaty spurred the expansion of King Cotton and chattel slavery across the South. It also fostered a chorus of Southern politicians, editors, thinkers, and settlers whose demands for Southern Indian removal became more vociferous by the 1820s, leading eventually to Indian Removal in the mid-1830s. By transferring millions of acres of Creek and Cherokee lands to the federal government, Fort Jackson limited Southern Indian sovereignty to a smaller portion of lands.[87]

In the postwar period, Council headmen and Redstick leaders continued to rely on the practice of coalition-building.[88] Nevertheless, the two competing coalitions that took shape in this era magnified Creek division. While Big Warrior, William McIntosh, and several Council headmen leveraged their relationship with Agent Hawkins, thousands of

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[86] "*Journal of Occurrences*," Big Warrior to Hawkins, 9/18/1815, Tuckabatchee, LBH, 2:754-756.

[87] Waselkov and Wood, "Creek War," 10, 15; Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, 166-168; Braund, *Deerskins*, 187-188; Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 241; Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 117-120. While I generally agree that this treaty undermined Creek sovereignty, it by no means ensured removal. Martin's point that "[w]ith remarkable speed" the U.S. settled the "ceded land," elides the Creeks' political responses to maintain some control over their society (166).

[88] Scholars tend to argue that Fort Jackson established a sharp break between pre- and postwar Creek history, and that the Creeks were powerless to curb American expansion which accelerated at a tremendous pace between 1814 and the removal of Creeks to Indian Territory/Oklahoma in 1836 and 1837. I seek to unite these historical eras. See Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, 166-168; Braund, *Deerskins*, 186-188; Saunt, *New Order*, 289-290; and Hudson, *Creek Paths*, 121-172, but especially 171-172. Hudson does explore Creek history beyond Fort Jackson, but the major points of her earlier chapters regarding Creek territoriality and mobility are left undeveloped in the postwar period.

Redsticks fled Creek country as a multi-town unit. They took refuge in Spanish Florida, where they established towns near one another and perhaps confederated with the Seminoles. As a result, the creation of two independent postwar coalitions, much like the Redstick and peace coalitions of mid-1813, accelerated the fissioning of Creek society. Both at "home" and in "diaspora," the Creeks lived in a widely dispersed and politically divided world.[89]

At Fort Jackson, the first coalition formed around the National Council and its allied towns. There, thirty-two headmen representing twenty-eight major towns and talofas put their mark to the treaty on August 9. Surely they were coerced, and, as one scholar suggests, Jackson probably handpicked the headmen, many of whom assisted the General's campaign at Tohopeka.[90] Despite these fraught circumstances, Fort Jackson presented headmen with the opportunity to represent their communities in an official capacity. Moreover, many signers hailed from towns and talofas that had been destroyed or abandoned during the U.S.-phase of the war, including: "Uchee Mico" of Yuchi Town, "Choocchau Haujo" of Woccoccoie, "Esholoctee" of Nauchee, "Yoholo Micco" of Upper Eufaula, "Stinthellis Haujo" of Aubecooche, *métis* John O'Kelly of Coosa, "Eneah Thlucco" of Imookfau, "Espokokoke Haujo" of Wewocau, "Eneah Thlucco Hopoiee" of

[89] Sheri Marie Shuck-Hall's exploration of a Native-centered concept of diaspora has inspired my thinking about postwar Creek society. See *Journey to the West: The Alabamas and Coushatta Indians* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 6-8. She writes, for instance, "Diasporic communities often maintain a collective memory or myth of their ancestral place and seek to rebuild former spaces elsewhere. Groups may participate in a return movement to the homeland and reconnect with those who may have stayed behind." Bonds are created both among the migrants and between the migrants and "'stayers'" (6). Such a dynamic applies to the postwar Creeks.

[90] In a telephone conversation with the author on August 13, 2015, anthropologist Robbie Ethridge raised this possibility.

Tallassee, "Talessee Fixico" of Hickory Ground, Captain Isaacs of Coosada, *métis* "Tuskegee Emautla, or John Carr" of Tuskegee, and *métis* Alexander Grayson of Hillabee.[91] By attending the treaty even under circumstances not of their own choosing, these headmen showcased the endurance of the connections among Creek towns and provinces.

Additionally, the order in which the headmen signed the treaty (with an "x" mark) provides further clues as to the survival of towns and provinces as well as the growth of a postwar coalition. The primary Council headmen signed first, including speaker for the Upper Creeks, Big Warrior of Tuckabatchee, and speaker for the Lower Creeks, Little Prince of Broken Arrow. After that, Lower Creek headmen signed together, forming a sort of Lower Creek bloc. Their towns are listed thusly: Coweta, Cussita, Hitchiti, Sauwoogelo, Lower Eufaula, Apalachicola, Padjeeligau, and Yuchi Town. Next, headmen signed for the Abeika towns in the following order: Kialijee, Woccoccoie, Nauchee, Upper Eufaula ("Tallapoosa Eufaulau"), Aubecooche, Corn House, Coosa, Imookfau, Wewocau, and Pucantallahassee. That these towns are listed together suggests that despite the U.S. destruction of Upper Creek society, the Abeikas had reestablished their province.[92]

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[91] I compare the signatories' town of origin against the towns destroyed during the war as listed in Waselkov and Wood, "Creek War," 12-14 (Table 1.); Treaty with the Creeks, 1814, in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, ed. Kappler, 2:109-110. Headmen of two (of four) towns attacked in July 1813 by the Redsticks also signed: "Socoskee Emautla" of Kialijee; and Big Warrior, Alexander Cornells, and "Micco Aupoegau" of Tuckabatchee (2:109-110). For O'Kelly, see Hawkins, *Journal*, 12/13/1796, LBH, 1:17. Alexander Grayson was probably a son of "Sinnugee," likely a Hillabee, and Scotch trader Robert Grayson ("Grierson"); see Hawkins, *Journal*, 12/11/1796, LBH, 1:15 and Hawkins' "*sketch*," LBH, 1:301.

[92] Tallassee, a Tallapoosa town, appears just before Pucantallahassee. See Treaty with the Creeks, 1814, in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, ed. Kappler, 2:109-110. Chisca was an

While coalition-building united one group of Creek towns, it did so at the expense of the legitimacy of another group of Creek towns. Scholars have missed the point that by precisely relying on coalition-building to grow and consolidate its power, the National Council created an unbridgeable gap between Redstick and non-Redstick, undermining the unity necessary to blunt American expansion. Although Jackson's supremacy in Creek affairs helped reinforce Creek schisms, we must recognize that Creek coalition-building had become a dangerous liability. For example, the Tallapoosa towns of Hoithlewaulee and Autossee as well as several Alabama towns, the nerve centers of Redstick power, sent no delegates to Fort Jackson. Although one headman from the former Redstick towns of Tallassee/Halfway House, Coosada, Tuskegee, and Hickory Ground each attended, they were probably not Redsticks. Not surprisingly, Tame King, the "head of the Prophet's party," did not attend.[93] In any case, the Redsticks would have scoffed at an invitation to the treaty. They hated Jackson, the Creeks who assisted him during the war, and any Creeks who favored diplomacy with the Americans. Plus, thousands of Redsticks fled to Spanish Florida in the years following Tohopeka.[94]

The postwar coalition consolidated its power around *métis* Creek leadership; however, the term "*métis*" must be approached with caution. A *métis* Indian had a Native

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old name for Yuchi (Swanton, *Early History*, 119). I assume *métis* Timpoochee Barnard represented Padjeeligau, located on the Flint River, because his father, Timothy, had intermarried with Yuchis there. Additionally, a headman signed for a Yuchi polity ("Chuskee Tallafau"). "Chuskee" might be a corruption of Chisca, an old name for Yuchi. For the Chiscas, see Swanton, *Early History*, 119.

[93] For "head," see Hawkins to Armstrong, 7/20/1813, Creek Agency, ASPIA, 1:849.

[94] While the former prophet, Captain Sam Isaacs, attended for Coosada, he does not count as a Redstick, for the Redsticks had censured him early in the war for assisting the Council's execution squad. See Treaty with the Creeks, 1814, in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, ed. Kappler, 2:109-110.

mother and Euro-American father, who instructed his son in the ways of the market economy and wealth acquisition. But blood did not determine culture, meaning a *métis* was not automatically pro-capitalist or pro-American. Waselkov's genealogical research reveals that many Redsticks prophets who espoused the revival of Creek traditions were, perhaps unexpectedly, *métis*. Yet they detested economic innovation and a market-oriented society, which smacked of American influence.[95] Nor did those *métis* Indians who preferred a market-oriented lifestyle have a monopoly on capitalism in their society. The wealthy, pro-Creek, and native-heritage Big Warrior of Tuckabatchee exemplifies this complexity. An owner of slave and livestock property, he advocated Creek interests (as can be glimpsed in a talk to Cherokee headman Pathmaker[96]). Moreover, Big Warrior later contested the Fort Jackson treaty when the Creek signers learned in late 1815 that they had been misled about the exact size of the cession.[97] Nor did rich Creeks see eye-to-eye. In fact, Big Warrior's greatest rival in the National Council was another wealthy Creek, William McIntosh, a *métis* headman of Coweta.[98]

Market-oriented *métis* headmen favorable to American interests staked their power in the Fort Jackson treaty. McIntosh signed for Coweta as "major of Cowetau,"

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[95] Waselkov, *Conquering Spirit*, 55. Whereas Martin and Saunt argue that *métis* headmen tended to be market-oriented and accounted for growing divisions in Creek society, Waselkov's genealogical work shows that the prophets were *métis*, *not* market-oriented, and *pro*-traditional culture. Waselkov has successfully moved the scholarship beyond the idea that race determined culture in the Native South, an idea that Theda Perdue argued for in "Race and Culture: Writing the Ethnohistory of the Early South," in *Ethnohistory* 51:4 (Fall 2004): 701-723, here 715-716, 719-720.

[96] See Big Warrior to Pathmaker, 5/1[?]/1809, Tuckabatchee, LOSW, roll 1, frames620-621.

[97] "*Journal of Occurrences*," Big Warrior to Hawkins, 9/18/1815, Tuckabatchee, LBH, 2:754-756.

[98] Michael D. Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 63, 65.

demonstrating his martial connections to Jackson and the U.S. military. Moreover, the headman possessed significant authority over the Lower Creek towns; he signed not only for Coweta but also "for" "Hopoiee Haujo" of Ouseechee, "Chehahaw Tustunnuggee" of Chehaw, and "Spokokee Tustunnuggee" of Hurricane Town, a talofa of Chehaw. These towns may have empowered him to voice their interests or, perhaps, he took that liberty upon himself. Although the Coweta Mico ("Micco Achulee") signed for his town, his one "x mark" pales in influence to McIntosh's four marks. McIntosh's ties to America were endless and complex. He shared a cozy relationship with Jackson; served for the Americans in the First Seminole War (1817-1818); and was a cousin of Georgia Governor George M. Troup.[99] Other *métis* signers established themselves as leaders in the postwar period, including John O'Kelly of Coosa, Alexander Grayson of Hillabee, Timpoochee Barnard ("Captain of Uchees [i.e., Padjeeligau]"), and perhaps John Carr of Tuskegee.[100] The white fathers of these young headmen had traded, lived, and intermarried with the Creeks since the eighteenth century.

In late 1814 and early 1815, the stabilization of the postwar coalition buttressed the chasm between Redstick and non-Redstick. Despite the Big Warrior-McIntosh rivalry, the coalition projected a largely unified face towards the Americans and especially Hawkins. To shore up his own relationship with these headmen, Hawkins attempted to alleviate hunger and suffering in war-torn Creek society. In exchange for

[99] He was related to several other white Georgia officials, too. See Green, *Politics*, 54. For his service in the First Seminole War, see William McIntosh to David B. Mitchell, 4/13/1818, camp near Miccosukee, pp. 1-2, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC921, SNAD.

[100] Treaty with the Creeks, 1814, in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, ed. Kappler, 2:109-110.

supplying the Creeks with some food and clothing, Hawkins invited the coalition to form a "Creek Regiment" in early 1815. Some 1,405 Creek warriors enrolled in the Regiment, drawn from twenty-three towns and talofas (Table 8). Hawkins commanded the Regiment through the head warrior of Coweta, William McIntosh, who was made second in command. A "Maj. Tinsley" served as its quartermaster. In tandem with Jackson's clean-up operation against the Redsticks in Spanish Florida, the Regiment was formed to punish the Redsticks who had fled to the "Negro Fort" in West Florida (Figure 19). There, Creeks, Seminoles, and runaway slaves mounted a last-ditch effort to resist American expansion and slavery with the help of Britain, which supplied the Fort with goods and weapons. American forces eventually destroyed the Fort in 1816, but no thanks to the Creek Regiment.[101]

[101] Hawkins to Monroe, 1/23/1815, "Camp near Coweta," LBH, 2:716, and 677 (for C. L. Grant's context). For quartermaster, see Hawkins to Early, 2/20/1815, "Camp 115 Mile," LBH, 2:718. For the multiracial history of the Negro Fort, see Saunt, *New Order*, 273-290.

Table 8. William Triplett, "The Warriors Enrolled in the Service of the U. States under the Command of Col. Hawkins." (Note: This table has been rearranged to highlight the number of warriors contributed by each town.)

Towns/talofas	Enrolled	Reserved	Marched	Officers	Non-coms
1. Coweta	216	44	172	8	0
2. Upatoi	158	33	125	6	0
3. Broken Arrow	154	34	120	6	0
4. Cussita	111	24	87	4	0
5. Padjeeligau ("Flint river")	108	48	60	3	0
6. Ouseechee	99	21	77	4	0
7. Imookfau (an Okfuskee *talofa*)	82	18	65	3	0
8. Sauwoogelo	73	15	58	3	0
9. Tuckabatchee	60	13	47	2	0
10. "Aupaulauchooche" (Little Eufaula?)	52	11	41	2	0
11. Ooktauhauzausee (a Hillabee *talofa*)	41	9	32	1	0
12. Yuchi Town ("old town")	38	8	30	1	0
13. Lower Eufaula	38	8	30	1	0
14. Kialijee	36	8	28	1	0
15. Upper Eufaula	22	5	17	1	0
16. Hickory Ground	20	5	15	0	1
17. Hatchechubbau (a Kialijee *talofa*)	18	4	14	0	1
18. Coosada	17	4	13	0	1
19. Tallassee	16	4	12	0	1
20. Little Okchai	12	3	9	0	1
21. Tuskegee	12	3	9	0	1
22. Corn House (an Okfuskee *talofa*)	12	3	9	0	1
23. Okfuskee	10	2	8	0	1
TOTAL (23)	1405	327	1078	46	8

Source: Compiled by William Triplett, "Adj.," enclosed in Hawkins to James Monroe, 1/23/1815, "Camp near Coweta," LBH, 2:716-717. For Hatchechubbau, Ooktauhauzausee, Imookfau, Corn House ("Toottocaugee"), and Broken Arrow ("Thlacotchcau"), see Hawkins, "Sketch," LBH, 1:301-305. (The orthography of "Aupaulauchooche" suggests a translation of Little Eufaula.)

The Regiment saw little to no military action, although probably most of the 1,078 Creek warriors listed as "marched" did march on the Negro Fort. On January 23, Hawkins wrote that "Three divisions of warriors have marched [there] and the remainder march today."[102] By late February, the Regiment was encamped near the Negro Fort, poised to attack. But on February 25 Hawkins received word that British and American diplomats had signed the Treaty of Ghent in Ghent, Belgium, on Christmas Eve 1814, which ended the War of 1812. Because the Creek Regiment had been partially charged with fighting the British, America's wartime enemy, it disbanded immediately.[103] Despite its brief tenure the Creek Regiment is important with regard to postwar Creek politics.

To be sure, the Regiment served practical purposes. Military service enabled warriors and their "families," according to Hawkins, to obtain "aid," including food and clothing. Although the Fort Jackson treaty guaranteed $40,000 dollars to non-Redstick Creeks, Hawkins complained in January 1815 that provisions were "very scarce" in Lower Creek country, where the Regiment was based.[104] To alleviate the suffering, Hawkins allowed families to purchase clothing on credit, which amounted to $10,370.50. By mid-1815, however, the warriors had not received payment for service, and it is unclear if they ever did. Obtaining basic necessities came at a high price and perhaps served to increase Creeks' debts to the U.S. factories.[105]

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[102] Hawkins to Monroe, 1/23/1815, "Camp near Coweta," LBH, 2:716.
[103] Hawkins to Jackson, 2/27/1815, "Camp near" the forks, LBH, 2:721.
[104] Hawkins to Monroe, 1/23/1815, "Camp near Coweta," LBH, 2:716.
[105] Hawkins to Jackson, 5/5/1815, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:725. For a Creek regiment that served in the First Seminole War, see "Pay Roll of Company of Creek Indian Warriors

The Regiment served coalition politics. At least fifteen of the towns that committed warriors to the Regiment also sent headmen to the Fort Jackson treaty conference.[106] This meant that, plausibly, the same headmen who signed the treaty encouraged their town's warriors to join the Regiment, and that in turn, the warriors supported the headmen by enrolling in the Regiment. The mutually reinforcing dynamic between headmen and warriors suggests that ordinary Creeks sanctioned the postwar coalition leadership. Whereas the Redstick War poisoned relations between town authorities and young warriors, Creeks in the postwar era tried to put the horrors of the past behind them. Thus, in addition to securing food, Creeks perhaps served in the Creek Regiment to cultivate generational unity within towns.

Though bolstering the postwar coalition, the Creek Regiment enhanced the division between the coalition and the dislocated Redsticks. Table 8 depicts the correlation between a town's enrollment of warriors and its affiliation with Redsticks. For instance, the five towns that enrolled the most warriors (747 or one-half) eschewed the Redsticks. Conversely, the fewer the number of warriors offered up for service increases the likelihood that their town was a former ally of the Redsticks. For instance, warriors hailing from the ex-Redstick towns 18-22 in Table 8 barely participated in the Regiment. Who these warriors were is uncertain; perhaps they had supported the Council

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Commanded by Capt. 'Nehalockopoye' lately in the service of the United States," 11/28/1818, Fort Hawkins, pp.1-2, Keith Read Collection, KRC013, SNAD. Unfortunately, I am unable to determine the warriors' and Nehalockopoye's town affiliation. Nehalockopoye cannot be William McIntosh of Coweta whose war title was Tustunnuggee Hutkee ("White Warrior").

[106] Fifteen towns: Coweta, Cussita, Padjeeligau, Ouseechee, Imookfau, Sauwoogelo, Tuckabatchee, Yuchi Town, Kialijee, Upper Eufaula, Hickory Ground, Coosada, Tallassee, Tuskegee, and Corn House.

or remained neutral during the conflict. In short, by serving in the Regiment, Creek warriors accessed some trade goods and demonstrated its loyalty to Hawkins and, more generally, the United States. But their service, designed to fight the Redstick holdouts in Spanish Florida, simultaneously widened the chasm between Redsticks and Council-allied towns.

In August, months after the Regiment's dissolution, more than two hundred "Distressed" Creeks descended on Coweta seeking money and provisions from Hawkins and Assistant Agent Christian Limbaugh. These "Distressed" Creeks were largely affiliated with the National Council and, therefore, the postwar coalition. Hawkins invited them to Coweta so that they could lodge individual claims against the Redsticks. Too, he probably hoped to fulfill his obligations to those who served in the Creek Regiment. The "claim against the Hostile Indians," as this document is called, was compiled by Limbaugh. He catalogued the names and/or titles of micos, other officials, women, warriors, and slaves (see example in Figure 18). Altogether 260 Creeks and nine American traders tendered claims for $100,569.37½.

The claim "against the Hostile Indians" represents an additional example by which coalition-building divided Creeks. As affiliates of the postwar coalition lodged their claim with Limbaugh, they consolidated that coalition's power and marginalized the Redsticks. Admittedly, the claim's ledgers obscure as much as they reveal. Whether the "Distressed" Creeks expected to receive money or provisions (or both) is unknown. Whether individuals lodged a claim to recoup the loss of property, to provide for one's

family or town, or for more selfish motives are also difficult to ascertain.[107] Still, the document allows us to tease out the specific relationships between towns and between individuals in the postwar coalition.

Class divisions permeated the coalition. The average amount claimed by ordinary lesser-status Indians was $125. On the other hand, both native-born and *métis* headmen (and some women) individually claimed eight times as much as ordinary individuals, or about $1,000. This suggests that Creeks made claims based on their political position in society and not, as Claudio Saunt has suggested, based on their race. To reiterate a point I made earlier, *métis* Creeks did not have a monopoly on wealth.[108] For instance, the native-born property-owning headman of Tuckabatchee, Big Warrior, requested the largest claim, a mindboggling $26,048—or one-quarter of the sum of all claims! Moreover, the native-born and recently widowed "Sen,nec,chee" of Hillabee claimed part of her late Euro-American husband's property ($2,138). Her husband had been Hillabee's trader. Following their mother, two of her *métis* children claimed their

[107] Limbaugh to Hawkins, 8/9/1815, Coweta, with claims enclosure, both unpaginated. I paginate according to folder page; here p. 1, 2 (for sum), 4 (traders), 5-18 (Creeks). For document, see *Secretary Of War, Letters Received, 1815*, Letters Sent/Received by the Secretary of War Relating to Indian Affairs, 1800-1824 (U.S. National Archives, *Archives Unbound*), http://go.galegroup.com/gdsc/i.do?&id=GALE%7CSC5102563217&v=2.1&u=gree35277&it=r&p=GDSC&sw=w&viewtype=fullcitation (accessed May 22, 2015).

Limbaugh organized his ledger by town: 27 Cussitas requested $2,083.37½; 61 Broken Arrows, $10,881.75; 72 Cowetas, $8,117.75; 80 Tuckabatchees, $65,908.75; 20 other Creeks (among them three Hillabees, a Tallassee, a Tuskegee, and two Lower Eufaulas), $9,262. Accounting for the traders' claims ($4,315.75), the grand total is $100,569.37½—$10 more than Limbaugh's miscalculated figure, "$100,559: 37½" (p. 2). William McIntosh's claim of "upwards of $4,000" (p. 1) does not appear in the ledger.

[108] Big Warrior's claim alone challenges Claudio Saunt's argument that mixed-heritage elites favored a market-oriented economy that spawned class divisions in Creek society. Native-born elites, too, spawned class divisions.

father's remaining property ($3,940.25).[109] Some *métis* headmen like Tuckabatchee interpreter Alexander Cornells requested an indemnity ($6,835) for property destruction. Other *métis* leaders, such as William McIntosh, hoped to recoup money ($4,000) for the loss of slaves.[110] The postwar coalition exuded class.

Despite the coalition's stark class divisions, though, Creeks lodged a claim for the same reason they joined the Creek Regiment: to secure basic necessities, such as food, building materials, clothing, and other provisions. After the American military had burned cornfields and hundreds of domestic structures in the U.S.-Creek War, food shortages and homelessness rose to a fever pitch.[111] Hillabee, for instance, likely recovered from the November 1813 Hillabee Massacre only gradually. While market-oriented Creeks surely hoped to recover money and goods for themselves and their families, the coalition as a whole expressed its wish to reestablish the support network of clans and towns, lessen privation, and restore a sense of normalcy to society by lodging

[109] The claims of Sen-nec-chee and her children reveal an innovation in inheritance patterns, at least among a Hillabee family. That they claimed their husband's/father's wealth pushed against matrilineal customs, under which a wife inherited her deceased uncle's, not husband's, property. At the same time, Sen-nec-chee and her children's claim showcases the staying power of Creek women in town politics among postwar Creeks. For changes and continuities of Creek inheritance patterns in the 1700s and early 1800s, see Kathryn E. Holland Braund, "Guardians of Tradition and Handmaidens to Change: Women's Roles in Creek Economic and Social Life during the Eighteenth Century," *American Indian Quarterly* 14:3 (Summer 1990): 239-258, here 241, 245, 246, 253. Braund points out, however, that Creek "social organization" tended to endure, even after Removal: "Matrilineal kinship patterns, matrilocal residence, town organization, [and] the ceremonial year . . . continued as central features of Creek life well after Removal" (253).

[110] Limbaugh to Hawkins, 8/9/1815, claims, pp. 15 (Cornells), 1 (McIntosh), 7 (three Hillabees), 15 (Big Warrior), and 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 15 (*métis* claims).

[111] Hawkins to Early, 11/5/1814, Fort Hawkins, LBH, 2:702 ("Corn is scarce in the upper towns of the Lower Creeks"), and Hawkins to Early, 4/21/1815, Fort Hawkins, LBH, 2:724 (for "Indians" eating alligators). For postwar demographic conditions, see Waselkov and Wood, "Creek War," 10, 15.

claims. Given Big Warrior's pro-Creek interests, he must have submitted his large claim ($26,048) on behalf of his townspeople and to provide for other Creeks who took refuge in his town in 1815.[112] Other headmen may have requested money for their people, including: a headman of Corn House ($3,232); the mico of Ouseechee ($3,588); perhaps a headman of Broken Arrow ($1,645); and two Hitchiti headmen ($807.50). Wives of Native headmen, too, supported their husbands and probably their towns when they lodged a claim. Take, for example, Big Warrior's "wife" ($432) and Patty ($147), who was the "wife" of a Broken Arrow warrior. "Ce,ho,lus,kee[,] a woman" of Broken Arrow, requested $274.[113]

Aside from the possible attempt to secure money for their families and towns, all of the individuals who lodged a claim against the Redsticks demonstrated that the cultivation of unity within their own coalition depended on marginalizing the Redsticks. Coalition headmen helped drive that disunity. Those who signed the Fort Jackson treaty one year earlier and who lodged a claim included: Big Warrior; William McIntosh and Coweta Mico; Okfuskee Yoholo of Corn House; Tuckabatchee Tustunnuggee and Noble Kinnard of Hitchiti Town; the Grayson family of Hillabee; and, perhaps, Tallassee Fixico of Hickory Ground.[114] The 260 "Distressed" Creeks, led by these headmen, eventually

[112] Tuckabatchee became a refugee center of sorts. Limbaugh's document shows that Okfuskee Yoholo of Corn House is listed under "Tookaubatchee," as is the mico of Ouseechee, a Lower Creek town, far from Tuckabatchee. See Limbaugh to Hawkins, 8/9/1815, claims, pp. 16 (Corn House), 17 (Ouseechee Mico).

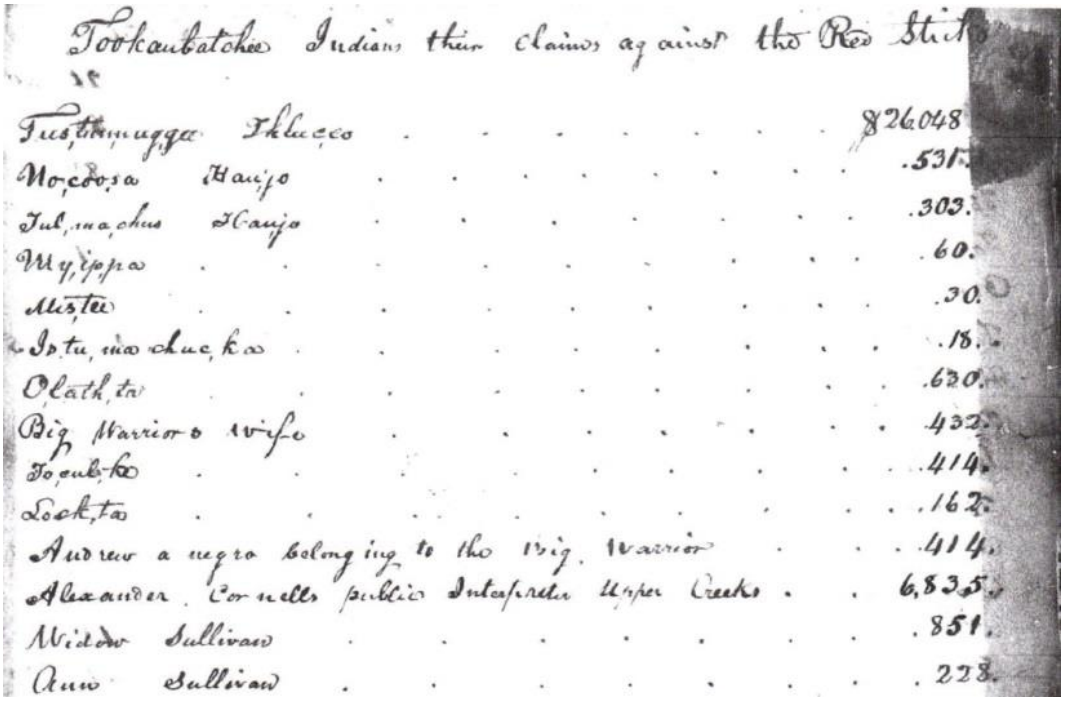
[113] Limbaugh to Hawkins, 8/9/1815, claims, pp. 15 (Big Warrior, "wife," and Andrew), 16 ("Ocfuskee Youholough" of Corn House), 17 ("Oose,oo,chee Micco"), 8 ("Eufau,lau Tus,tun,nug,gee" and "Ce,ho,lus,kee," both listed under Broken Arrow), 12 (Hitchiti headmen), 9 (Patty, "wife"), 5-6 (Carr's slaves), and 10 (Moses and Tom).

[114] The "Ta,le,see Fix,i,co" listed under Tuckabatchee's claims in Limbaugh to Hawkins, 8/9/1815, claims, p. 17, might be the same as the "Talessee Fixico, of Ocheobofau" listed in the

swayed Congress to act. In early 1817, the Congressional Committee of Ways and Means reported that "their claims to indemnity should not be disregarded." The Committee reasoned that the Fort Jackson treaty granted such claims. According to the report, "it will be best to appropriate a definite sum," perhaps as much as "$60,000."[115] Whether or not the U.S. remitted the claim as part of the Creek annuity is uncertain. Moreover, the Committee stipulated that to receive the money, the Creeks must accept the Fort Jackson land cession.

Treaty with the Creeks, 1814, in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, ed. Kappler, 2:110. For Coweta Mico, see Limbaugh to Hawkins, 8/9/1815, claims, p. 11 ("Mic[?] Au,chul,la") and Treaty with the Creeks, 1814, in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, ed. Kappler 2:109 ("Micco Achulee").

[115] Claim of the Creeks, 1/29/1817, in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, ed. Walter Lowrie and Walter S. Franklin (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1834), 2:126 (hereafter cited as ASPIA, volume 2, page number).



Tookaubatchee Indians their claims against the Red Sticks

Tustunnuggee Thlucco	826.048
Nocosa Hanjo	.531.
Tulmachus Hanjo	.303.
Myjopa	.60.
Mistee	.30.
Istu mucluck	.18.
Olath ta	.630.
Big Warriors wife	.432.
Toenubbee	.414.
Lock ta	.162.
Andrew a negro belonging to the Big Warrior	.414.
Alexander Cornells public Interpreter Upper Creeks	6,835.
Widow Sullivan	.851.
Ann Sullivan	.228.

Figure 18. "Tookaubatchee Indians their Claims against the Red Sticks." Excerpt from Limbaugh, August 8 (?), 1815. *Source*: Limbaugh to Hawkins, 8/9/1815, Coweta, with claims enclosure, in *Secretary Of War, Letters Received, 1815*, Letters Sent/Received by the Secretary of War Relating to Indian Affairs, 1800-1824 (U.S. National Archives, *Archives Unbound*).

In the wake of the destruction wrought by the U.S.-Creek War, a coalition of Creeks formed around key National Council headmen, such as McIntosh and Big Warrior. These headmen leveraged their relationship with the U.S. in the attempt to restore order to society. By joining the Creek Regiment or submitting an indemnity claim, the Lower Creeks, the Abeika towns, and a few other Upper Creek towns forged an impressive alliance. By consolidating its power through the Creek tradition of coalition-building, however, the Council enlarged the gap between the Redsticks and Council-allied Creeks, arresting any chance of reconciliation between two bitterly opposed peoples. Coalitions no longer served Creek unity; rather, they permanently divided Creeks. But if coalition-building in Creek country edged out the Redsticks, how did they adapt to the postwar era?

A combination of crisis, migration, and coalition-restructuring characterized Redsticks' experiences from 1814 to 1821. Their defeat at Tohopeka followed by the Fort Jackson land cession, which included most Upper Creek hunting grounds, triggered a Redstick exodus to Spanish Florida. So, too, did the food shortages occasioned by the destruction of towns and crop fields by U.S. and Southern military forces. Big Warrior succinctly captured their plight: they had "lost their lands, their towns and many of their relations" (although this just as easily applied to Creeks in the postwar coalition).[116] Some Redsticks continued to resist American expansion by joining the British, Seminoles, and runaway slaves at the Negro Fort. Most, however, settled in a broad arc spanning from Pensacola to the Florida peninsula. They lived with, near, or apart from

[116] As paraphrased by Hawkins, in Hawkins to George Graham, 4/23/1816, near Fort Jackson, LBH, 2:783.

Seminole and black villages and towns in the region. Tampa Bay became a popular area of the Redstick settlements (Figure 19).[117] Altogether, more than 3,000 Redstick men, women, and children lived in Florida by the early 1820s.[118] In a new environment, the Redsticks established towns and forged ties among one together and with the Seminoles. In the process, they gradually cut themselves off from Creek country. This fissure marked the historic removal of thousands of Creeks from the rich coalition complex that had provided Creeks with the breathing room to adjust to colonialism since the Creek-Cherokee War.

The Redstick migration echoed that of the Hitchiti towns, such as Oconee, which established Alachua and other settlements in north Florida in the mid eighteenth century. The Hitchiti Seminoles adopted a mixed agricultural and ranching lifestyle, which they learned from Spanish herders, and probably acquired bits and pieces of Spanish. Like the Creeks, the Hitchiti-derived Seminoles grew corn, settled in towns, constructed square grounds, and practiced the Green Corn Ceremony. By 1793, according to one Spanish

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[117] J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 41-127 (Seminole history), 217-218. Some Redsticks settled in "secluded locations" (252). Others possibly settled on the "Choctawhatche" between Pensacola and Apalachicola, Florida; see enclosure in Hawkins to Early, 6/15/1814, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:684.

[118] For 3,000, see Joseph M. White, "secretary to the commissioners for land titles in Florida" and "a citizen of the Territory of Florida," to John C. Calhoun, 12/1/1822, Pensacola, enclosed in Calhoun to Thomas Metcalfe, 1/28/1823, Department of War, in *American State Papers. Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, from the First Session of the Fourteenth to the Second Session of the Nineteenth Congress, Inclusive: Commencing December 4, 1815, and Ending March 3, 1827*, ed. Walter Lowrie and Walter S. Franklin (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1834), 2:411. Hereafter cited as ASPIA, volume number, page number(s). This figure probably does not include other Redstick villages and towns, such as those that settled in Tampa Bay by this point. For the Tampa Redsticks, see Neamathla to Jackson, 9/21/1821, Pensacola, ASPIA, 2:413, enclosed in Calhoun to Metcalfe, 1/28/1823, Department of War, *APSIA*, 2:411.

report, two Hitchiti-descended Seminole towns ("Cascavela" and "Anattylaica") inhabited the area. Some "eighty families" lived in Anattylaica. Each town grew "corn, rice, potatoes, pumpkins," vegetables, and "some green stuff." They also traded deerskins for numerous trade goods at St. Augustine, Pensacola, and Apalache.[119]

[119] Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 41-127. For Alachua's history in the colonial period, see *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians*, eds. Gregory A. Waselkov and Kathryn E. Holland Braund (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 50-55. For the Spanish report, see Vicente Folch to Luis de las Casas, 12/17/1793, Havana, SMV, 4:239. Cascavela refers to Alachua, which "is composed of Savacolas and Hechityses," or Hitchitis (4:239).

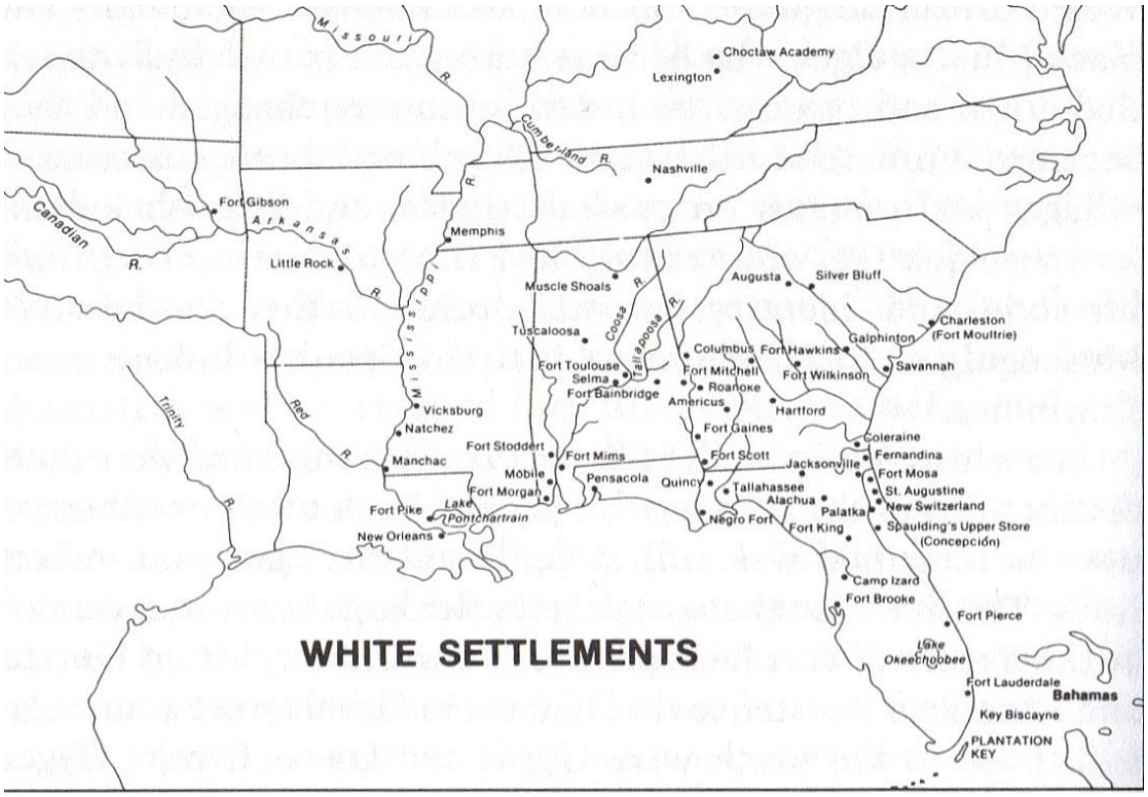

Figure 19. Early Nineteenth-Century Native South. In and after 1814, the Redsticks settled in a broad arc between Pensacola, West Florida, and Tampa Bay in west-central Florida. Near Tampa, the U.S. constructed Camp Izard adjacent to the Withlacoochee River. The Suwanee River, near Tallahassee, was just north of there. The "Negro Fort" was built atop Prospect Bluff near the mouth of the Apalachicola River. *Source*: J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 220.

Settling in a new environment posed stiff challenges. In July 1814, Agent Hawkins wrote that the "remains of the eight towns on the Tallapoosa" that fled to Pensacola were "greatly distressed there for provisions, and have greatly distressed the Spaniards themselves."[120] Years later, U.S. official Joseph White reported that Redsticks in Pensacola and perhaps in north Florida's Alachua settlement had "no locality, or permanency of habitation." They were "frequently found infesting our towns and settlements," and were "reduced to great extremities for the want of the ordinary articles of subsistence." White's report indicates that Redstick migrants may have settled on poor lands unable to support corn or other crops, but they did obtain basic necessities from local trade networks. Moreover, animal meat was hard to come by. Given the "scarcity" of game in the region, hunters had "almost entirely abandoned the chase," according to White.[121] In the 1810s and early 1820s, the Redsticks eked out a livelihood on the Gulf Coast.

Despite these harships, by 1818 at least six out of the eight Tallapoosa towns that fled to the panhandle four years earlier had established towns, cultivated farmlands, herded cattle, and confederated for mutual protection.[122] According to William McIntosh, who was currently campaigning against the Seminoles in the First Seminole war, about 200 men and at least 98 women and children lived in six Tallapoosa towns.

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[120] Hawkins to Joseph Graham, 7/5/1814, near Fort Mitchell, LBH, 2:688 ("remains"); Hawkins to Thomas Pinckney, 5/17/1814, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:680 ("greatly").

[121] White to Calhoun, 12/1/1822, Pensacola, enclosed in Calhoun to Thomas Metcalfe, 1/28/1823, Department of War, ASPIA, 2:411. In 18124, the U.S. erected Fort Brooke in Tampa; see Wright, Jr., *Creeks and Seminoles*, 252.

[122] For the eight Tallapoosa towns, see Hawkins to Joseph Graham, 7/5/1814, near Fort Mitchell, LBH, 2:688.

Among them lived Peter McQueen, the prophet of Halfway House, who served the displaced Tallapoosas as leader. These Creeks kept about 700 "head of Cattle," including hogs, owned horses, and harvested corn.[123] The stabilization of the Tallapoosa economy and power structure along the Gulf Coast further ruptured the Redsticks' ties to Creek country.[124]

By 1821, when Spain formally ceded Florida to the U.S., at least a few of the Tallapoosa Redstick towns referenced by McIntosh and perhaps other Redsticks had migrated to the vicinity of Tampa Bay and the Withlacoochee River valley.[125] According to a well-informed Seminole headman, Redsticks settled in four towns in the Tampa Bay area: "Red Town" ("at" Tampa), "Ac-lock-o-na-yake" ("above" Tampa), "O-pony's Town" ("back" of Tampa), and "Watermelon Town" ("on the seaboard"). Other Redstick refugees settled near them, including the Tallapoosa settlement of "Peter McQueen's village" (on "the other side of Tampa Bay") and, perhaps, a town named "Sowwalla village" (location unknown) whose villagers "fled from [the Coosa River], and followed McQueen and [Josiah] Francis, their prophets" to Tampa. Other Redsticks

[123] William McIntosh to David B. Mitchell, 4/13/1818, camp near Miccosukee, p. 1, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC921, SNAD. McIntosh led a Creek unit in the First Seminole War of 1817-1818. His letter was written "30 Miles from Mickasukia," or Miccosukee, a Seminole town just east of the Ochlocknee River in the Florida panhandle. According to this letter, the Tallapoosas had gradually migrated east in the late 1810s from Pensacola.

[124] One report indicates, however, that in May 1815, about a year after the Tallapoosas' initial southward migration, McQueen's "brother, his sister, and 14 in number have come to their old place [in Creek country] and are nearly perished." For this return migration, see "Extract" in Hawkins to Alexander J. Dallas, 5/26/1815, Creek Agency, LBH, 2:731. Even so, no extant records confirm that these Creeks were reincorporated into Creek society. They are not included, for instance, in the August 1815 list of claims against the Redsticks. For the McQueen family, see Wright, Jr., *Creeks and Seminoles*, 219; after McQueen died in Florida around 1820, his widowed wife returned to Creek country and married McQueen's nephew.

[125] Wright, Jr., *Creeks and Seminoles*, 218, writes that some Upper Creeks may have lived in the Tampa Bay delta as early as the mid-to-late 1700s.

possibly left the Coosa or Tallapoosa River for the Florida panhandle, where they established "Santa-fee-ta-lo-fa" and "Waw-ka-saw-sa" along the Suwanee River watershed, just up the coast from Tampa.[126] Peter McQueen's Village, Santa Fe Talofa, and Wawkasawsa might be among those Tallapoosa towns identified by McIntosh in 1818.[127] In sum, as Tallapoosa Redsticks migrated east from Pensacola, they continued to stick together and offer each other protection and support.

Other Florida Redsticks possibly cultivated ties with the Seminoles. In July 1821, Florida Territory Indian Affairs official Jean A. Pénières wrote to Andrew Jackson that 3,000 people inhabited "Mickasuky, Suhane, Moskoky, Sante Fé, *Red Sticks,* and Echitos" (my emphasis). Except for Red Sticks, which presumably was a settlement of diasporic Redsticks, all were Seminole towns. That Pénières listed the town of Red Sticks among five Seminole towns raises the possibility that these particular Redsticks had forged ties with the Seminoles, helping to ease the migrants' transition into Floridian geopolitics.[128] Additional evidence reveals possible confederation between the Redsticks and Seminoles. Sante Fé had a talofa named Santa Fe Talofa ("Santa-fee-ta-lo-fa"), which had been settled by Redsticks fleeing from the Coosa or Tallapoosa River

[126] Headman of Fowltown, Neamathla, to Jackson, 9/21/1821, Pensacola, ASPIA, 2:413, enclosed in Calhoun to Metcalfe, 1/28/1823, Department of War, *APSIA*, 2:411. Jackson had been trying to convince Florida's Native people to move west. For Neamathla, see Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 220-221. Possibly, the Tampa Bay Redstick towns melded with the Hitchiti towns of "Cascavela" and "Anattylaica," which flourished in the region in 1793; see Vicente Folch to Luis de las Casas, 12/17/1793, Havana, SMV, 4:239. For more on McQueen, see Patricia Riles Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy*, rev. ed. (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2006), 55-56.

[127] McIntosh to Mitchell, 4/13/1818, camp near Miccosukee, p. 1, Telamon Cuyler Collection, TCC921, SNAD.

[128] Jean A. Pénières to Andrew Jackson, 7/15/1821, enclosed in Calhoun to Thomas Metcalfe, 1/28/1823, Department of War, ASPIA, 2:411.

sometime after the war.[129] Thus, while some Florida Redstick towns partnered together, others preferred fastening ties with the Seminoles. It is likely, too, that all of the Florida Redsticks found ways of visiting or communicating with one another.

The Redstick migration originated in the changing economic and political conditions of early-nineteenth century Creek society. The combination of economic want, class division, the National Council's assumption of power over clans, and Tecumseh's message of world renewal gave rise to a cadre of Creek Redstick prophets in the summer of 1813.[130] They called on disgruntled Creeks to purify society by killing town chiefs who accepted Hawkins' "plan" and by destroying the accouterments of American wealth, such as cattle, hogs, and fences. Almost instantly, the Redstick revitalization movement divided the Creeks. Thousands flocked to the Redsticks, while many others rallied behind the Council. Some tried to remain neutral by refusing to embroil themselves in the conflict.

Revitalization restructured the old coalition network by splitting it into two geographically and politically distinct networks over time: the Florida Redstick Creeks and Alabama Creeks. Initially, in the summer of 1813, the political networks that knit Creeks together complicated town loyalties and offered a brief moment of conflict resolution. The stakes were raised, however, when the Redsticks realigned the Revolutionary-era coalitions. When a peace coalition arose from the ashes of Fort Mims in early September, Redsticks and non-Redsticks lay on two irreconcilable sides. The

[129] Neamathla to Jackson, 9/21/1821, Pensacola, ASPIA, 2:413, enclosed in Calhoun to Metcalfe, 1/28/1823, Department of War, *APSIA*, 2:411.

[130] Saunt, *New Order*, 213-229; Waselkov, *Conquering Spirit*, 72-74.

devastation of Upper Creek country and the 23-million-acre land cession enlarged the gap between the non-aligned and Redstick Creeks. The Big Warrior-McIntosh postwar coalition searched for stability in the Creek Regiment and claims commission by consolidating its power at the exclusion of the Redsticks. At the same time, thousands of Redsticks fled for refuge in Spanish Florida and established new villages and towns there hundreds of miles from their natal talwas along the Tallapoosa and Coosa Rivers. By forging political ties among one another and with the Seminoles, the Redsticks like the National Council relied on coalition-building. As the Redsticks entrenched themselves in Florida, the coalition complex that had given rise to, for instance, the Revolutionary-era coalitions, the Three Rivers Resolution, and the Hickory Ground Resolution, crumbled. Upper Creeks who had once formed an integral part of the coalitions in Creek society now inhabited new lands far removed from the "Three Rivers."

Many scholars have traced the origins, duration, and aftershocks of Creek revitalization. Some like Martin and Dowd examine the concepts of world renewal ceremonialism and sacred power, while others like Waselkov and Hudson refocus the scholarship on local issues of kinship and place in the Redstick era. Few, however, have interrogated the ways in which revitalization reshaped Creek politics and coalition-building, which had in many cases serviced Creek autonomy, stability, unity, and peace since the colonial era. Instead of equipping the Creeks with the sacred powers to overcome colonization, the Creek revitalization movement shook coalition-building to its foundations. The Redstick attack on Fort Mims in August 1813 derived from the formation of a cross-town coalition that while uniting the Revolutionary-era coalitions,

cleaved society. Exacerbating political fissures, the non-aligned Creeks constructed a peace coalition with the Americans weeks later, assisted Jackson's army in the defeat of the Redsticks in March 1814, and erected a postwar coalition around the exclusion of the Redsticks, who fled to Spanish Florida. Although scholars have inspected the ways in which U.S. colonization split the Creeks into Redstick and non-Redstick, Creeks themselves hastened division by obeying a consensual form of politics that fostered two competing hardline coalitions. By 1821, when the Redstick exodus to Florida was complete, coalition-building had engendered permanent division.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has traced how Creek Indian families, clans, towns, and provinces inspired, shaped, and thwarted Creek headmen's ability to lead during the colonization of the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth century Native South. Part and parcel to that process, it has also tracked how headmen's community allegiances determined and frustrated Creek rulership. By examining British, American, and Spanish records as well as Creek Indian "talks," it argues that Creek politics was community-based, and that the impact of community membership on political practices and political culture was double-edged. From the conclusion of the Creek-Cherokee War to the aftermath of the Redstick War, the Creek "community politics" witnessed a dialectical relationship between unity and disunity, peace and warfare, and innovation and tradition.

The Three Rivers Resolution of 1793 acknowledged that multilayered tension. When Bird Tail King and Cussita Mico announced to U.S. authorities in April 1793 that "The three rivers have talked, and wished for peace," they were not being rhetorical. Rather, they envisioned Creek unity with the language of Creek locality and captured a general sentiment among Creeks that they should tackle the problem of U.S. colonization head-on. Many town headmen from the Chattahoochee, Tallapoosa, and Coosa Rivers united around a policy towards the Americans and Chickasaws. Yet the towns and the resident clans of those towns supported that policy if it did not conflict with local courses

of action. A key framer of the Resolution, Mad Dog sensed that mutuality between unity and custom when clan vengeance moved him to assault and kill Chickasaws during the Creek-Chickasaw War. Trapped in the clutches of retaliation, he was unable to service a larger diplomatic agenda.[1]

To rule with legitimate authority, headmen forged impressive multi-town coalitions on behalf of their towns and provinces. Those political support networks were designed to defend hunting grounds, secure goods from Euro-American traders, and promote peace with Euro-American colonies and other indigenous populations. In fact, Creeks preferred to adjust to colonization in the form of coalitions. Bonds of clan and kinship stabilized those coalitions after headmen adopted outsiders as fictive kin or when headmen dissuaded families from launching revenge raids, especially on Euro-American settlements, in the pursuit of Anglo-Creek and U.S.-Creek diplomacy. By relying on their clans and towns to shape colonial change, however, the Creeks set themselves up for disaster. Creek leaders' allegiances to their immediate communities, particularly their clans and towns, occasionally clashed with their affiliation with a province, a cross-town coalition, or an international alliance. Since headmen needed to represent a broad array of peoples and interests in order to maintain their authority, their participation in coalitions foundered especially on ties to their clan. The international principle of clan

[1] Bird Tail King ("BIRD KING") and Cussita Mico ("CUSSETAH KING") to Major Henry Gaither, 4/13/1793, Cussita, in *American State Papers. Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, from the First Session of the First to the Third Session of the Thirteenth Congress, Inclusive: Commencing March 3, 1789, and Ending March 3, 1815*, ed. Walter Lowrie and Matthew St. Clair Clarke (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1832), 1:420 (hereafter cited as ASPIA, volume number, page number), enclosed in Henry Gaither to Henry Knox, 4/19/1793, Fort Fidius, ASPIA, 1:419. For Mad Dog, see See Cherokees and Creeks via "Indian [Cherokee?] Philatuchi" to Governor of Florida (probably Enrique White), 10/21/1795, PLC, reel 10, frame173.

retaliation (*lex talionis*) obligated an aggrieved family to mete out punishment on the offending party, such as on the Choctaws and Chickasaws. Clan justice destabilized society by smashing town-based coalitions, and it uprooted diplomatic settlements by embroiling towns in regional conflicts and war, which lasted for many years. By the Redstick War, the whole coalition building system became shaky and unstable, as towns, like clans, became unreliable community institutions for the building of coalitions. Town headmen, for instance, mustered support and organized coalitions to harm one another, exacerbating a preexisting climate of severe social, economic, and geopolitical change.

From the cessation of the Creek-Cherokee War in 1753 to the completion of the Redstick exodus to Spanish Florida in 1821, the power and authority of headmen rested on *representing* a majority opinion in their clan, town, or province or on *persuading* a majority of people within a clan, town, or province to accept a course of action. The long career of headmen like Tame King, Mad Dog, and Big Warrior suggests that they ruled by consensus, primarily doing so by forging and participating in cross-town coalitions. There were exceptions of course, as when the New York treaty signers consented to the Oconee Cession or when the national Speaker, Hopoie Micco of Hickory Ground, ceded the Okmulgee lands to the U.S. But those exceptions reinforced the consensual rule, as when the Cussitas executed Hopoie Micco so as to affirm the participation of a broad cross-section of towns in political affairs.

Town headmen continued to fasten bonds with one another in the era of Indian Removal. The expansion of the Southern states compelled towns to defend their lands as a coalition. After a minority of corrupt headmen illegally ceded Creek lands east of the

Chattahoochee to Georgia in 1825, Southern settlers, politicians, and intellectuals launched a program of dispossession. Euro-American Southerners sought to "remove" all Southern Indians from the South and to force them to resettle in Indian Territory (Oklahoma after 1907). In 1830, the ardent Indian-hater President Andrew Jackson rallied support behind the Indian Removal Bill, which the House of Representatives approved by a slim margin (102 to 97) on May 26. Two days later, Jackson signed the bill into law. Although the Creeks signed the Treaty of Cusseta with federal commissioners in 1832, granting them to right to stay in what was now Alabama, they nontheless faced pressures from Georgia and Alabama settlers to remove once the Removal Bill became law.[2]

In response, Creeks adapted to removal as allied communities. For instance, a five-town coalition of twelve Upper Creek headmen informed Jackson that they "as a Nation and a people" once lived by their own "laws [customs] and privileges." But their best chance to survive, they said, was to remove "to the new home provided for us in the west by our father The President." As a "Nation," they stressed the unity of the Creek Indians, but as a "people," they elevated the community roots of Creek society.[3] Even

[2] For a history of U.S.-Creek relations in this period, see Green, *Politics*, 69-186. For Creek responses to Indian Removal, see John T. Ellisor, *The Second Creek War: Interethnic Conflict and Collusion on a Collapsing Frontier* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 140-415. For the Indian Removal Bill, see Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 2005), 322-327.

[3] Upper Creeks to Andrew Jackson, 8/27/1835, Alabama, in *Indian Removal to the West, 1832-1840: Files of the Office of the Commissary General of Subsistence* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America from LexisNexis, 2006), reel 5, frame782. The headmen included: "Yoholo Micco" of Eufaula, John South of Hilluabee, "Ole chum hadjo[?]" of Fish Pond, "Greison" of Okfuskee, a Fish Pond, "Hillubbee[?] Hadjo" of Fish Pond, Tommy Yoholo of "Ouktarsarsey[?]," a Fish Pond, Charley of Fish Pond, "Osler" Hadjo of Fish Pond, "Ruckay[?] Skiller[?]" of Okfuskee, and an Okfuskee.

under duress the Creeks conceptualized change with the language of politics, local custom, and coalition-building. Unfortunately, a combination of factors induced the vast majority of Creeks to undertake removal in 1836 and 1837. How Creek communities rebuilt their political structures in a new environment is, however, a story for another day.[4]

The future of Creek Indian history and, more generally, Native South studies should continue along a localist/community trajectory. In order to understand how colonization reshaped the history of the Native South, scholars must continue to focus on the community categories that structured the experienes of indigenous Southerners, including clans, the law of retaliation, town leadership, coalition leadership, the symbols of political power, and the political language deployed by coalition leaders in the service of coalition-building.[5] The colonization of the early modern Atlantic basin comes into sharp focus when cross-community ties are privileged over and above European-Indian ties.[6] The Southern Indians accommodated and resisted colonization by relying on

[4] For an examination of the "African Creeks" in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Indian Territory, see Gary Zellar, *African Creeks: Estelvste and the Creek Nation* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007).

[5] Alejandra Dubcovsky's forthcoming *Informed Power: Communication in the Early American South* will examine the communication networks that spanned indigenous polities across the South and how headmen could exploit privileged knowledge to carve out spaces of maneuver. See, too, Dubcovsky, "One Hundred Sixty-One Knots, Two Plates, and One Emperor: Creek Information Networks in the Era of the Yamasee War," *Ethnohistory* 59:3 (Summer 2012): 489-513, especially 506-507; and personal communication with author, American Society for Ethnohistory, Las Vegas, NV, November 7, 2015.

[6] Aside from Chapters II to VII in my dissertation, see Bryan Rindfleisch, "'My Friend' and 'My Brother': Escotchaby of Coweta and the Exploration of 'Intimate Power' in Creek Country, 1747-1775" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory, Indianapolis, IN, October 11, 2014); Rindfleisch, "'The Intimate Connection between His Interest and Mine': The Intersections of Intimate and the Political in the Native Southeast, 1737-1780" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society for

coalition-building practices, which were both aided and stalled by the community forces giving rise to them.

Ethnohistory, Las Vegas, NV, November 6, 2015). Rindfleisch's concept of "intimate" power explores the ways in which Lower Creek headmen leveraged kinship and power to forge ties with Scots-Irish traders linked into the wider Atlantic world.

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BMAM. *British Museum, Additional Manuscripts #21671, Parts 1-4*.

CO5. *Records of the British Colonial Office, Class 5 Files: Westward Expansion*.

CWBH. *Collected Works of Benjamin Hawkins*.

DAR. *Documents of the American Revolution*.

DHP. *David Henley Papers*.

ETHS. *East Tennessee Historical Society*.

GFT. *Georgia and Florida Treaties*.

GGL. *George Galphin Letters*.

GHQ. *Georgia Historical Quarterly*.

GT. *Georgia Treaties*.

IRW. *Indian Removal to the West, 1832-1840*.

LBH. *Letters, Journals, and Writings of Benjamin Hawkins*.

LOSW. *Letters Received by the Office of the Secretary of War*.

PLC. *Papers of Panton, Leslie, and Company*.

RC. *Revolution and Confederation*.

SMV. *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*.

SNAD. *Southeastern Native American Documents*.

TGP. *Thomas Gage Papers*. WHLP. *William Henry Lyttelton Papers*.

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